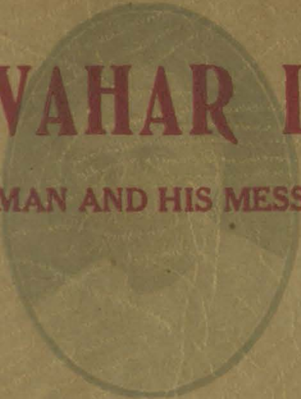
JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

The man and his Message

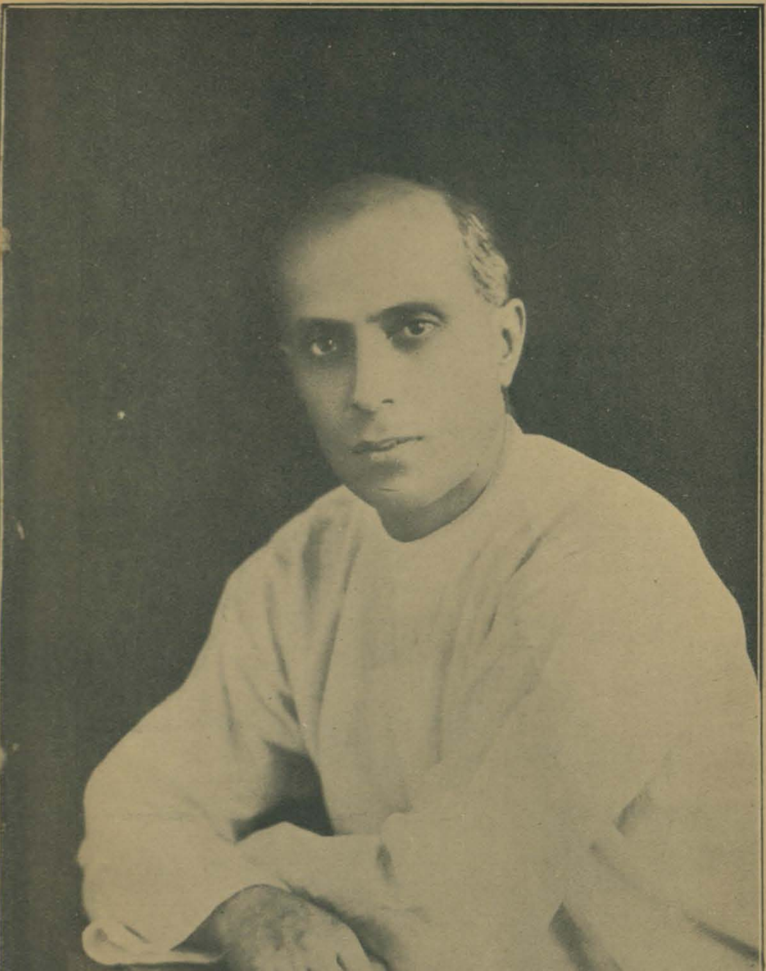
1929

JAWAHAR LAL



THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

'AL KAFIR'



1929.

PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU,
First Socialist President of the Indian National Congress at Lahore 1929.

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Man and His Message
A Critical and a Biographical Sketch

BY

AL KAFIR

with a Foreword

BY

F. W. WILSON, Esqr.,
Formerly Editor of the Pioneer.

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> *He has the dash of a warrior, the prudence of a statesman. He is pure as the crystal, truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight sans peur, sans reproche. The nation is safe in his hands.*
>
> *M. K. GANDHI.*

L. RAM MOHAN LAL, B. A.,
University Road,
ALLAHABAD.

Dedicated

TO

HANUMAN PRASAD SHUKLA.

A wreck in country's cause.

FOREWORD.

There is no getting away from the fact that my friend Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the most interesting and difficult figures in India. It is no news to him that there is probably no other person of whom there are so many antagonistic and divergent opinions. To some people he is the embodiment of the worst kind of seditious Communism, a bitter hater of wealth and privilege, who would destroy his own class and ride triumphantly to power as the leader of the understanding masses. To others he is an eccentric young man who, disgruntled and disappointed, has turned against everyone, including his respected father, and who has during the last year or two attempted to find a political and social salvation in the outcast and the youth of the country. I do not subscribe by any means to these facile generalisations. Jawaharlal is sincere. He is logical, and he has what appears to himself, at least a perfectly adequate theory of life. Personally I am not convinced that this theory

is as complete as it might be ,and I am afraid that at times the logic of it tempts one to question the premises, if not the application of the syllogisms. Jawaharlal, I am convinced, is a social reformer first and a politician afterwards. It is unfortunate that these two functions are always getting mixed up, and it is more unfortunate from the point of view of moderate liberal minded men like myself that, when they do get mixed up, it is the social reformer in Jawaharlal that dominates the politician. Personally, I think that the introduction of so much disputed economic theory into the realms of what ought to be a purely political problem—the attaining by India of full self-government—is a disastrous and highly dangerous event, but this does not prevent me from paying the closest attention to Jawaharlal's point of view and to the underlying facts which so often cause his indignation to flare out. It would be offensive for a comparatively recent friend, as I am, to speak about the charm of Jawaharlal's personality. There is no doubt about his

being a leader of men and a leader whom men will follow, not so much because of an intellectual predominance, but because there glows in his mind and soul a sympathetic understanding for human frailties and difficulties. Although the comparison is the last one which would be welcomed by Jawaharlal, I am afraid that he cannot get away from the truth of the fact that he has in him something of the qualities and perhaps handicaps of the religious fanatic. It is this driving dynamic force which makes him pre-eminently a subject for study in India to-day.

I have read this book with interest, and, as far as I can judge, it is a sympathetic and understanding account of the main facts of Jawaharlal's life and creed; but not even the sympathetic pen of the author can sketch, however vaguely and indistinctly, the main lines of future development; and that, after all, is the most important thing about Jawaharlal Nehru.

Allahabad:
December 14th, 1919. } F. W. WILSON.

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Early Life.

Almost the first thing to strike those who had occasion to come in intimate contact with Jawaharlal, the child, was a piece of iconoclasm which would have pleased the heart of a Gandhi :—" Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilisation. It represents a great sin."

The movement which became so common in the eighth and ninth centuries A. D. and changed the surface of history, was, in a very true sense, of childish origin. At any rate, had a referendum been taken and confined to children, the movement would have received the unanimous support of all youngsters, not excluding those born of the most devout Catholics and Sanatanists.

We are told that young Nehru started life as a bulb-breaker. Electricity was not so common then as it is now, and Pandit

Motilal Nehru, in this as in so many other respects, had given the fashionable lead by setting up a dynamo to add lustre to the festivities at Anand Bhawan—the Pleasure Mansion. We may safely assume that the insensate proclivity could not have appealed to the father but the young stalwart, we are assured, maintained his own—a clear warning perhaps of what might be expected of the grown-up man.

The Nehrus, it is now well-known, belong to the community of Kashmiri Pandits who, the story goes, were, at the time of the Moslem invasion of Kashmere, offered " Death or Islam", chose neither and came and settled down in the heart of Hindustan. Moslem rule appears to have followed them but without those disastrous alternatives, and, as a result, they accepted it eagerly, a fact which is evident from their assimilation of the best that there was in Moslem culture. This acceptance, however, does not seem to have been general among the immigrants. The Malaviyas, for instance, who also trace their descent

from Kashmere, remembered history and branched off, and sought more congenial climes. But despite this process of assimilation, sometimes miscalled Moslemisation, the immigrant Kashmiris insisted on the prefix Pandit and have in course of time succeeded in making it so well-known throughout the length and breadth of the land that its use invariably elicits the query: Are you a Kashmiri ?

It is the boast of this community of a few thousands that during our national life of less than half a century its members, without ever any demands for safeguards, have supplied presidents to the Indian National Congress no less than four times. And it is the proud claim of this community that its members are to-day leading the Indian National Congress, the Independence movement and the Liberal Federation. And if Pandit Malaviya be included, as historically he must, the community can claim the Hindu Mahasabha movement also within its sweep and raise its contribution to the Congress by two.

Our story begins nearly seventy years ago when Pandit Motilal was born. He was the posthumous child of Pandit Gangadhar Nehru, the Kotwal of Delhi. The Responsivists will take note of the designation and trace not a little of the masterfulness of the great Swarajist leader to his father. The Swarajist leader in turn may also trace the sturdy independence of his son to the same inherited tendency.

Pandit Motilal Nehru received his education at Allahabad, then one of the few educational centres in the country. After graduating he set up practice as a lawyer at Cawnpore whence, after a period, he sought more ambitious spheres and shifted to Allahabad.

Jawaharlal was born at Allahabad in Mirganj on November 14th, 1889. His father was in his community among the first to follow the western mode of living and European nurses were engaged for young Jawaharlal's upbringing. They were succeeded by British private tutors among whom F. T. Brooks, a cultured Theoso-

phist, was the chief. He remained under his influence from 1901 to 1904. Brooks was an active worker in the cause of Theosophy and was responsible for a translation of the Gita and several other books. That great Indian epic, it will interest the readers to know, often accompanies Jawaharlal on his tours. Brooks had some differences of opinion with the Theosophical Society, which developed into a quarrel and led to his separation. Theosophy appears to have played a great part in moulding his mental constitution and its atheistic tendency. This was no doubt partly the result of Brooks' teachings and partly that of the part he took in the Home Rule agitation after his return from England when interest in Theosophy had been aroused to a considerable extent owing to Mrs. Besant's championing of the cause of India. Mr. Gordon, Headmaster of Government High School, Allahabad, was also his private tutor for sometime.

The first session of the Indian National Congress he visited was in 1903 when Sir

Henry Cotton presided at Bombay. Little could that boy of 14 have dreamt that, before 26 years were over, he would be called upon in stormy times to fill the place then occupied by that great English statesman.

He sailed for England in 1904 and his father, mother and sister accompanied him and left him at Harrow. That famous public school was the first institution where he received his early training. Many Viceroys and Governors-General of India and Prime Ministers of Britain have had their early education at Harrow. Among the former are Lord Moira, Marquis of Hastings. Sir John Shore, Marquis of Wellesly, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Lytton and Lord Hardinge. From among British Premiers Harrow claims Palmerston, Robert Peel and Stanley Baldwin as its own. Sheridan, Byron, Cardinal Manning, Sir William Jones, the Orientalist, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Winston Churchill, Hall Read, Trollop, Calverly are all among Harrow's products.

Of greater interest to us is the fact that among his contemporaries at Harrow were

the Tika Sahib of Kapurthala, Raja Jai Singh, son of the Gaikwar of Baroda, and Dr. Justice Shah Mohammad Sulaiman. From Horrow he joined Trinity College. There was no other Indian there but at Cambridge among his Indian contemporaries were Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, M. L. A., Mr. A. M. Khwaja, Dr. Mahmud of Behar and Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew, who will now welcome him at Lahore as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the National Congress.

While in England he took the keenest interest in Indian affairs. This, no doubt, must to a large extent have been due to the fact that he had attended a session of the National Congress before his departure from India, for only those who attend that huge national assembly know the strength of the subtle inspiration its atmosphere produces in young and old alike. It was during his career there that Lala Lajpat Rai was deported and the entire body of Indian students in England was deeply stirred. Of a quite different character was the shooting of Curzon Willie by Madna

Lal Dhingra. Jawaharlal was very near the scene of action and the tragic incident must have given him the richest food for thought. In India itself at the time, after Lajpat Rai's deportation, Mrs. Besant and Tilak were the outstanding personalities and often formed the subject of political discussion among Indian students there and influenced their views. But the sum total of all this and the education there did not produce in young Jawaharlal anything definite in the way of political attachments except a vague tendency towards socialism.

Jawaharlal took second class honours in Natural Science, Chemistry, Zoology and Botany. Successful students there were divided in four classes. He became a Master of Arts without appearing at any examination, after paying the required fee. From the Inner Temple he was called to the Bar in 1912 and soon after returned to his native land.

Ten years later, an ex-convict, he stood before a court charged with intimidation

and extortion and in the course of his statement, said :—

> Less than ten years ago I returned from England after a lengthy stay there. I had passed through the usual course of public school and university, I had imbibed most of the prejudices of Harrow and Cambridge and in my like sand dislikes I was perhaps more an Englishman than an Indian. I looked upon the world almost from an Englishman's stand-point and so I returned to India as much prejudiced in favour of England and the English as it was possible for an Indian to be.

He came back to India and began practising as a Barrister under the guidance of his father who was then, for sheer intellect, known as second to none in the land and was, on all accounts, one of the greatest and most flourishing lawyers in India. The position of his father was at once a handicap and a blessing. While he did very well financially he was overshadowed by the brilliance of his father. But he took a deal of interest in his work and during seven years of his career as a lawyer was also entrusted with Taluqdar's cases. In the year 1920 he suspended practice in response to the call of the Mahatma.

He was married at Delhi in February, 1916. His father's only son, his marriage was, as was only to be expected, by universal consent a right royal wedding. Europeans, Anglo Indians and Indians of all communities were invited. The " Nehru Wedding camp " presented the picture of a gay carnival and is with many still a memory. On return of the marriage party, Anand Bhawan was a panorama of feasting and sport for days in succession.

In the year 1916 he went to Laddakh and while crossing a snowy mountain fell into a crevice but was pulled up by means of ropes. The accident happened at a height of 18,000 feet. Once in Norway he was carried away by a glacier but was saved by the timely help of a European.

Both before and after marriage we find Jawaharlal leading the usual fashionable life of the age, indulging his hobbies of riding, swimming, mountaineering and winter sports, until a sudden call came in 1920 and all was over.

The Whirlpool of Politics

"Sahib, the day you forget you have a white face, you will lose India," said the late Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh to Lord Minto once upon a time with that true instinct which accounted for the man being reckoned as the greatest loyalist of his time. The observation contains so much of truth that, without losing a particle thereof, it will permit the logical processes of inversion and conversion and still stand the most hostile scrutiny.

The late Maharaja of Idar might have made the equally pertinent remark: "Sahib, the day we forget you have a white face, you will lose India." But then, instead of giving a tip to the representative of the Crown he would have, with the same true instinct of a Rajput, been giving a broad hint to Indian Nationalists, and for them

the problem of attaining freedom would have resolved itself into the simple question: "How are we to forget the white face?"

Some things, it has been said, are easy to learn, difficult to forget. We have learnt to fear the white face, or else the succinct observation of the late Maharaja would have been devoid of all meaning. It may be the heritage of the Mutiny, or due to want of familiarity with the white face or its rarity, or perhaps to all together. And the surest way of overcoming this fear and forgetting the white face is a sojourn in England, while the next best method is a mastery over the English language and its expletives. The Indian who can't say "Damn" as frequently as he can laugh will never succeed in mixing with the average Englishman with any approach to equality.

Distance, both of time and space, lends enchantment to the view. We find it easier, for instance, to imagine mysterious attributes in peoples inhabiting far off lands or living in the dawn of history, the golden age or the Vedic period, than to believe in

the goodness of those with whom we come in daily contact; so much so indeed that even Chief Justices of our High Courts often abuse their high position by condemnatory references to people over whom they sit in judgment in the sincere and implicit belief in the comparative goodness of those they do not know.

But those who, like Jawaharlal Nehru, have lived in foreign lands and know from experience that human nature is everywhere the same, who have lived a life of comfort and ease and known what money can buy and wealth procure, who have known the failings and foibles of others as much perhaps as of their own countrymen, and in whom perhaps familiarity has bred the proverbial contempt, they have forgotten the white face.

When the Private Secretary of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal wrote to the late Mr. C. R. Das, it was the Private Secretary of Mr. C. R. Das who replied to the Private Secretary of the Governor. And it was the late Mr. C.

R. Das who startled Congressmen by telling the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then presiding over the Delhi session of the Congress: " Take my advice, Panditji. You have not been to England. You do not know these people."

The edifice of Imperialism rests on the foundations of racialism and, broadly speaking, the end of the process of the elimination of racial distinctions now in progress will find Swaraj automatically established in the land. And by no one, for reasons already given, is racialism pursued with such truculent hostility as by those who have been in the West. Their fine sensibilities they find it impossible to reconcile with the exigencies of the sordid system upheld by Westerners. Having learnt their great language, caught their clear accents, made them their pattern to live and to die, Indians from the West yet find no room for compromise with their models. This explains the wide difference between the old and the young in India to-day. It explains also the difference

between the father and son of our story.

Jawaharlal Nehru came back from England in 1912 and straightaway attended the Bankipore session of the National Congress the same year under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur Mudholkar. Two years later, in response to an appeal made by the late Mr. Gokhale from South Africa, he set about collecting funds strenuously and succeeded in collecting a sum of Rs. 40,000. The Home Rule agitation of 1917 presented him with his first opportunity. He took a prominent part in both the Leagues, one of Mr. Tilak and the other of Mrs. Besant, and was Secretary of the latter. Pandit Motilal Nehru also, by virtue of his position in the province, took a leading part in the Home Rule movement, particularly after the internment of Mrs. Besant, and it is relevant to add, although no occasion had, therefore, arisen for any public manifestation of differences of opinion between father and son, an incident happened that throws a flood of light on the subsequent course of events.

Mrs. Besant, on account of her Home Rule agitation, had just then been interned. Every town in the United Provinces, as in other provinces, had held protest meetings against her internment and it was resolved to hold a special session of the Provincial Conference at Lucknow to record the resentment of the province against the persecution of that venerable lady. Pandit Motilal Nehru was unanimously elected president of the Conference. In the course of his address, after enumerating the various hardships and injuries to which Indians were subjected, he proceeded in the usual old-fashioned way to exhort the Conference to have faith in the "British public "at home" for they are the final arbiters of our destinies".

An intimate voice at this stage quietly exclaimed, "Question!". It was the voice of Jawaharlal Nehru. Quite unconscious of the filial nature of this expression of doubt Nehru senior flared up, put off his spectacles, threw the manuscript from his hands, thumped the table before him and

in a loud voice asked: "Who dares question that?" The exclamation was repeated and the speaker challenged the daring questioner of the wisdom of his father's observation to come out into the open and disprove his contention. The incident passed, leaving the redoubtable leader triumphant for the moment, but it is permissible to doubt whether, in the course of his stormy and youthful career, Jawaharlal has or ever will score a greater victory.

We now come to the year 1919, a year remarkable for the happening of events, destined to leave a deep and lasting impression on the history of India. It began with the appearance of the Rowlatt Bills, popularly known as the "Black Bills", which Mr. Gandhi at the time called "an unmistakable symptom of a deep-rooted disease in the governing body." Despite the clear warning of this new star in the Indian political horizon the measure was passed into law in the teeth of unanimous Indian opposition in and outside the Imperial Council and Mr. Gandhi came out with the

programme of his Satyagraha campaign and called on the people to take the passive resistance vow with its two aspects, Swadeshi and fasting.

Here again a difference arose, for the first time real, between father and son. Pandit Motilal Nehru sought to divide the vow into two parts to the first of which he declared his allegiance, while, as regards the second part, he thought it was an act of wisdom to decline to affix his signature on it. This declaration was made at a public meeting where, again, a well-known voice intervened with the cry of "shame" and upset the equilibrium of the great Pandit then in the infancy of his leadership.

The same year witnessed the passing of a Reform Act, a beneficent measure thrown into the background by the infamous Punjab atrocities for investigating which an insistent demand was made for the appointment of a Royal Commission. Instead the Government of India, whose conduct during the disturbances had itself

been made an issue, appointed a committee of inquiry under the chairmanship of Lord Hunter and, while the Government was marking time, the Congress appointed a committee of inquiry consisting of Mr. Gandhi, Pandits Motilal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs. Jayakar and C.R. Das, all lawyers, to inquire into the matter. The Government of the Punjab refused to allow the leaders in prison to appear in person and tender evidence before the Hunter Committee and the Congress refused to lead evidence before that body. It was the beginning of non-co-operation.

The Amritsar Congress met while both the inquiries were proceeding but after the grant of the general amnesty to those "concerned in the Punjab rebellion", who were not guilty of violence and resolved to work the reforms although, according to that assembly, they were "inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory". This, however, was succeeded by the disclosures of official barbarities in the evidence given before the Hunter Committee which sent

a thrill of horror throughout the country. Soon after, the report of the Congress Inquiry Committee was received with indignant horror. The delayed publication of the majority and minority reports of the Hunter Committee and the unsatisfactory despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, coupled with the Punjab debate in Parliament, rendered the Congress resolution on reforms almost nugatory and led to the summoning of the special session at Calcutta which, with the help of the Khilafatists who had already declared for progressive non-cooperation, ushered in the new era in Congress politics.

At the special session at Calcutta Pandit Motilal Nehru sprung a surprise upon the country by his acceptance of the non-cooperation programme. Jawaharlal, who also had had his share in the Punjab inquiry as a member of one of the sub-committees into which the inquiry split up and as the result of the inquiry under Mr. C. R. Das had received one of the rudest shocks of his life, had even before his father's acceptance

of Mr. Gandhi's policy shown his willingness to fall into line with the Mahatma. He had taken a prominent part, in the summer of 1919, in the agrarian movement in Oudh which developed rapidly and subsequently resulted in the amendment of the tenancy law. This acquaintance with Oudh and its people stood him in good stead when he visited the sub-province again to preach the gospel of the triple boycott.

A year later he was externed from Mussuri on his refusal to give an undertaking to the Government to the effect that he would not meet the Afghan delegates who had come there for the Peace Conference. As a matter of fact he did not know them and had never seen them before, but he refused to give any undertaking on principle. Within a few days, however, the order of externment was withdrawn.

Intimately connected with the non-co-operation movement since its inception, Jawaharlal Nehru showed qualities of organisation and generalship which in different

ways won recognition both from the people and the Government. Wherever he went his fame preceded him. Tales about him, curious intermixtures of romance and myth, penetrated into the interior of districts and could be heard on the meanest wayside station he passed. It was the country's tribute to the aristocrat turned revolutionary.

Thrice in Jail.

Events moved fast after the Calcutta session. The next three months were devoted to an intensive propaganda to popularise the triple boycott and the Nagpur Congress found new adherents. It further advised the people of India to refrain from taking any part in the functions or festivities in honour of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connought. The success of this boycott was a demonstration of the hold of the Congress on the country and the people flocked to hear the mystic Mahatma wherever he went. Then followed the Bezwada programme and the demand for a crore of rupees which was oversubscribed. In the month of September the Ali Brothers were arrested for calling upon Government servants to resign their posts and the Congress Committee replied by authorizing

"every province on its own responsibility to undertake civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes". The Criminal Law Amendment Act was next applied to organisations in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab and the Congress retorted by bringing all volunteer organisations under one control.

Soon after the Nagpur Congress the Government of India in a letter to Local Governments urged the vigorous prosecution under the ordinary law of all persons guilty of making seditious speeches in the following words:

The Government of India have already urged this measure to which they attach the utmost importance on Local Governments, and they must again express their regret that so far such prosecutions have been instituted only in a small number of cases. The Government of India have refrained, for reasons that have been fully explained to Local Governments, from prosecuting the leaders on the general charge of advocating non-cooperation. But they must again impress on Local Governments that this fact constitutes no reason for refraining from prosecuting others.

And, as if the experience of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Con-

nought had not been enough, Government made the crowning blunder of inviting the Prince of Wales even against the advice of the leading Moderates. His landing in India was greeted by a "despicable thing," to use the words of Sir William Vincent for an All-India hartal held, according to the Congress, to condemn the exploitation of the Royal Family for political ends and to give a start to the reforms just enacted. The idea, no doubt, was to produce great political effect by bringing all-India to welcome the Heir to the Throne at a time of ferment. But the political effect really produced was quite different and in order to secure a quiet atmosphere for the Prince repression ran amok. Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nahru were arrested in quick succession. With the latter Jawaharlal also was, after a mock trial, sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

The Nehrus, among others, were arrested on the eve of the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Allahabad and the answer of

that city to the arrests of its leaders is now a matter of history. But the scenes then enacted on the street facing Anand Bhawan would long be remembered by those who witnessed them. The Mahatma had banned all demonstrations on the day of the Prince's visit, but the leaderless mob, dying to do something to vindicate their loyalty to their lost leaders, chalked out a plan. In thousands they enlisted as volunteers and stationed themselves inside the compound. With a square piece of tin with the perforation :

NO
WELCOME
TO
PRINCE

they resolved to advertise their mood on the boundary wall of Anand Bhawan for the Prince, who was to pass that way, to see. In batches of five they sallied forth facing imminent arrest and each batch succeeded in putting up one un-welcome sign before the police grabbed them. This went on until the hour struck for them to cease

work in obedience to the General's instructions and hundreds of such volunteers were arrested and jailed. The next morning the police hurriedly did some masonry in trying to deface the "NO" but the black letters resisted the onslaught of the bricky lime and are even to-day visible on the walls of Anand Bhawan, a symbol of the citizens' devotion to its owners when they had been snatched away from their midst.

Jawaharlal was released after three months, only to be arrested again after a few weeks and sentenced to a year and nine months, for intending to picket and for intimidation and extortion. For the history of the case we shall refer the reader to passages from his statement, one of the best on record.

I am charged with criminal intimidation and attempted extortion. I have wondered if these charges were seriously meant. The sections of the Code which have been applied bear no relation to the facts even as disclosed by the prosecution evidence. I presume that the signal success that had attended our efforts in Allahabad has induced the authorities to take some action against the picketters. If peaceful picketting for a lawful object is a crime then indeed I am guilty of

having advised it and helped in it. But I have yet to learn that peaceful picketting has become an offence even under the laws of British India. Our object in picketting was to make the cloth-dealers adhere to the pledges they had jointly taken. Does anyone believe that we could achieve success in this by criminal intimidation and extortion ? All the world knows that our strength lies in the support of our people and the good-will of our countrymen. Our weapons are not the old time ones of force and coercion. The weapons which our great leader has put in our hands are those of love and self-sacrifice. We suffer ourselves and by our sufferings seek to convert our adversary.

Criminal intimidation involves a threat of injury to a person or his property and injury denotes harm "illegally" caused. So also extortion must include the putting of any person in fear of "injury" and thereby "dishonestly" inducing him to part with property. I have listened to the prosecution evidence with interest in order to find out on what ground these novel charges were based. What was the injury to any person or property that was threatened ? What was the harm "illegally" caused ? Wherein lay the dishonesty of any of us ? I have not heard a single allegation yet made, much less proved, which suggests that we have caused injury to any person or property, caused any harm illegally or acted dishonestly. Not a single prosecution witness, including the police and the C. I. D. has made such an allegation. In the whole of Allahabad there was found no person of the

thousands who must have witnessed the picketting, who could bring the charge of any intimidation against us, or even a harsh word uttered by one of our picketters. No greater proof of our triumph can be given than this unsought testimony of the police and the C. I. D. Our picketting has been, I make bold to say, a model of its kind, perfectly peaceful, perfectly courteous, relying on entreaties and exhortations and not even hinting at any force or intimidation. The cloth-dealers, who are alleged to have been intimidated by us, are presumably the aggrieved party. But not one of them has complained.

Ten months ago, the cloth-dealers of Allahabad took a solemn pledge to refrain from purchasing foreign cloth till the end of 1922. All the signatories to the pledge, and they included almost every cloth merchant in the city, constituted themselves into an association styled the "Vayapari Mandal" and elected office-bearers and a committee. The first business of the "Mandal" was to lay down that every member who broke his pledge and purchased foreign cloth would have to pay a certain penalty and in case he refused to do this, picketting would be resorted to. The committee of the "Mandal" was to determine in each individual case how much foreign cloth had been bought and what the penalty was to be. On several occasions during the past year the "Mandal" committee considered such breaches of the pledge and imposed aud recovered fines in accordance with their rules. Occasionally at their request picketting was also resorted to. Two months ago a large quantity of foreign

cloth was purchased by some of the cloth-dealers in Allahabad. This was in contravention of the pledge and the shops of some of these cloth-dealers were picketted. Later the committee of the "Vayapari Mandal", newly reconstituted, assessed the fines on the merchants who had broken their pledges and themselves collected this money, which lies at the disposal of the "Mandal".

These are the facts relating to picketting in Allahabad. It is clear beyond doubt that there was neither any intimidation nor any attempt at extortion. The present prosecution is really an attempt to suppress lawful and peaceful picketting under cover of charges of intimidation and extortion. Picketting has been going on all over India for many months. It has taken place in many cities and bazars in the province. Here in this very city of Allahabad we have repeatedly resorted to it. And yet Government took no action against it as such. They knew well that in India as in England peaceful picketting is no crime. Of course, it is open to them by a stroke of the pen to make even peaceful picketting illegal. But whether they do so or not we shall not give it up. To entreat and exhort and advise others to follow a certain line of action or to abstain from doing something is a right which we will not abandon, whatever the Government may do.

He was discharged after nine months together with some others but a few months later in the latter half of 1923 was again arrested in Nabha State. His account of

the story of the trial is so graphic that it will be perused with interest even to-day :—

I must confess that even previous experience had not prepared me for the present Nabha way of administering justice in political cases. Even the forms of law have not been observed and an entirely false case under section 145 has been set up against us. It is manifest that the case is an afterthought and has been propped up on false evidence.

This case under section 145, I. P. C., had a strange beginning. It is a warrant case but no information of any kind had been given to us about it. No paper relating to it had been shown, or oral intimation given. The other case under section 188 had been going on. On the 24th September, there were two sittings of the court trying that case, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. After the second sitting we were kept waiting for a considerable time and then, at about dark, led into another room which appeared to be a court where we were made to sit with another prisoner. Suddenly our old acquaintance, the Superintendent of Police, Jaito, who was present, started giving evidence. After a short while I enquired what was happening and if it had anything to do with us. I was informed that the hearing of a case under section 145, I. P. C., was taking place against us. This was the first intimation we were given of the case.

But the 'bona fides' of the case can be judged by the fact that one co-accused, Sardar

Darbar Singh, was nowhere near the Akali Jatha of which he is supposed to have been a member or leader. He had nothing to do with that Jatha and to my certain knowledge he was not with it when it was stopped by the Police. And yet he is alleged to have led the Jatha and to have insisted on taking it forward to the Gurudwara.

It was our intention to visit Nabha State for a couple of days on our way back from the Delhi Congress. Our object was one of peaceful enquiry. We decided to go to Jaito for a few hours to see how Akali Jathas were treated there. But first we went to Mukhtesar and made some enquiries there. We then proceeded by road, on horseback and bullock cart, towards Jaito.

The Jatha was stopped near the Dharamshala by the police or military. My two companions and I stepped to the roadside to watch developments. We were asked by a policeman who we were and whether we had come with the Jatha. I answered that we were not Akalis or members of the Jatha, but we had come along with it to see what happened to it. The Jatha was stopped in the middle of the road and was not allowed to proceed further. My companions and I however stood apart from it and went to the Dharamshala to drink water. Soon after the Superintendent of Police came to me and asking my name told me that I was prohibited from entering the State. On my asking for a written order he showed me an order of the administrator purporting to be under section 144, Cr. P. C. I signed the order and took a copy. My two companions were not asked



1929.

THE NEW ANAND BHAWAN MANSION.

The Palace in which the Nehrus reside.

The "Times of India" wrote very highly of this palace.

Ram Mohan Lal.
University Road, Allahabad.

to sign. I told the Superintendent that it was not my intention to leave the place then. The Superintendent then retired. My companions and I walked up to the verandah of the Dharamshala and sat down in the shade. Soon after within a few minutes of the service of the order of section 144, the Superintendent returned with another officer who, we were told, was the District Magistrate and informed us that we were all three being arrested under section 188 for disobedience of an order under section 144. We pointed out that no order had been served on my companions whereupon the District Magistrate pronounced an oral order under section 144 against them. We were then searched and led off to the police station.

The whole evidence is full of falsehood and yet, even if it be taken to be true, it discloses no case under section 145 or any other section. No serious attempt has been made by the Public Prosecutor in his argument to establish the case or to show that the various ingredients of the section have been complied with.

The essence of section 144, I. P. C., is the command to disperse in the manner prescribed by law and refusal of the accused to disperse in spite of knowledge of such command. In the present case nowhere in the evidence is it even alleged that an order to disperse was given. Some witnesses have stated that we were asked to turn back. I was certainly told by the Superintendent of Police, when he showed me the order under section 144, that I was prohibited from entering the state and he further suggested

that we should leave. But no stretch of imagination can translate this into an order for dispersal. The Public Prosecutor has admitted that the Jatha was not asked to disperse. He says that their dispersal would not have suited the police or the State officials as even after dispersal the members of the Jatha might have remained in the State territory. What the authorities wanted was to send every Akali out of Nabha territory and therefore the proper and convenient order was to go back and not to disperse. This is the argument advanced on behalf of the prosecution. I confess that among the many surprises I have met with in Nabha, this was not the least of them. It is monstrous to quibble like this when the section is mandatory and clearly lays down that the assembly must be asked to disperse and this must be in the manner prescribed by law. In the present case no order to disperse was given, nor was anything said which might be construed into an order for dispersal, much less was any legal procedure followed. I am sure that no one there, officials, Akalis and others, even thought of an order for dispersal.

There being no order for dispersal, there is no question of any one continuing in the assembly after such order. Apart from this question, however, so far as we three are concerned, another interesting fact has to be noted. We were arrested very soon after the service of the order under section 144. I am not aware how arrested persons are expected to disperse.

The charge against me states that this court has jurisdiction to try me. I am not aware how

the court derives this jurisdiction. I am taking this objection at the end of my written statement not because I attach little value to it but because I know that under the circumstances this court is not in a position even to consider this question fully. I take it that originally this court derived its authority and jurisdiction from Maharaja Ripudaman Singh who was the rightful ruler of Nabha State. That jurisdiction could only be exercised during his pleasure. The Maharaja has now been dispossessed by an act of usurpation and cannot enforce his will on the people of Nabha. No attempt has been made to show under what authority the present administration is being carried on. So long as it is not clearly shown that the British Government has express authority, fully given by the Maharaja in this behalf, to interfere in the internal affairs of the state, the present administration must be deemed to be an illegal usurpation and the court can derive no authority from it.

I have gone into the facts and the law in some detail and somewhat against my usual practice in such cases. But this whole proceeding appears to me so amazing and built upon a complete negation of all truth and law, that I consider it necessary to be explicit. The present Nabha admistration, under the sheltering wing of the Government of India, has not taken long to exhibit its true nature. The very unscrupulousness and immorality of the proceedings against us are welcome if they expose what is happening here to-day and draw public attention to the present state of Nabha. For men may not

enter here from outside, and no one may live in this state if he disagrees with the present administration. And the price of disagreement now is not merely a long term of imprisonment but also forfeiture of property and banishment from the state.

Jawaharlal was sentenced to two years and nine months' imprisonment but the sentence was soon suspended and he was discharged.

These three convictions took place after the fiat had gone forth from the Mahatma that all true patriots should find themselves in jail on December 31, 1921. Well might he exclaim :—

"I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate. But to suffer for the dear country! What greater good fortune could befall an Indian unless it be death for the cause or the full realisation of our glorious dream?"

The Mahatma, Father and Son.

Among the first great converts to the creed of the Mahatma it was but natural that there should spring up a close intimacy between Mr. Gandhi and the two Nehrus. Even before non-cooperation the Punjab disturbances and the resultant Congress inquiry had brought the three very close togather and their lives during the upheaval became intertwined. Like many other leaders who retained their leadership at the time, they were but two instruments in that master hand, the father with his inborn cynicism emphasising the logic and the expediency of the campaign, the youthful son with his emotional ardour carrying away the hearts of men and broadcasting the message of the Mahatma from village to village and from town to town.

The reaction and disintegration that followed the Bardoli halt and the subse-

quent arrest of the Mahatma presented a problem which the son, released earlier than the father on a technical ground, tried to solve by a hurricane campaign of revival in the United Provinces and was soon awarded another term of imprisonment. When the time came for Pandit Motilal Nehru to come back to public life the reaction had grown stronger and the disintegration almost complete with the end of the *rasion d'etre* of the Khilafat campaign. The cry for an immediate campaign of civil disobedience as the people's reply to the arrest of the Mahatma clearly called for reconnoitring and what his opponents uncharitably described as manouvering. The institution of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee followed with recommendations that gave rise to the birth of the Swaraj Party.

The Mahatma was then in jail: so was Jawaharlal Nehru. When the latter came out he was presented with a *fait accompli*. The Swarajist campaign had begun. With leaders like his father and the late Mr. C. R.

Das at its head, it was likely to engross the energies of the nation. There were for young Nehru three courses open: either to oppose tooth and nail in the manner of Mr. C. Rajgopalchari, the policy and programme his father had now made his own, or to support it and develop into a leader of legislators, as his father's deputy in the Assembly or as chief in the Provincial Council. The third and the least attractive alternative, so far as the Swaraj Party was concerned, was to do nothing.

Released from jail he found himself on this perplexing cross-road, knowing not whither to go. There was on the one hand, the mute, invisible appeal of his jailed guru whom he had vowed to follow through thick and thin. There was, on the other, the equally mute, though partially visible appeal of his fond father. Add to this the soul-tormenting will to do and die.

There comes a time in the lives of all who do not leave their determination in other hands when decision this way or that makes or mars their fortunes. For Jawaharlal

Nehru it was such a time and, as the course of subsequent events showed, it so happened that he made just the right decision.

The decision itself was unattractive enough, hardly in keeping with his character or what he might have, in the circumstances, been expected by his friends to do. He chose in fact not to act. With resentment on the turn events had taken burning in his heart, he ignored the appeals of his co-workers to declare himse lf in favour of the old programme and against the new, for the guru and against the father. Had he done so, the applause of the multitude would have been his portion, in measure equal if not greater to that of his father. The country was waiting for a lead. Here was the chance. The straggling forces would have gathered round him and acclaimed him as their hero. Confined so far mainly to the province, his fame would have, in an instant, leaped its boundaries and travelled far and wide. To the halo of the aristocart turned revolutionary would have been added the glamour of the son, in

the country's cause and that of his soul, on a raging and tearing campaign against his father. And the Mahatma on his release....

In the offing, for the moment at any rate, there appeared a Greater Jawaharlal. But the question at such moments comes to all patriots : What of the country ? What, for the nation, will be the result of this unseemly family fight. The common opponents will jeer at the spectacle. In this fight for methods can the cause prosper ? His father's plans were well-advanced. He had not known him at all if he had not known his determination. There was no question of paternal obedience. Had he not years ago and in public asserted his independence of his father. Nor could the purity of the motive for the new foundation suffer a moment's doubt.

Paternal regard, disintegrating doubt, the realisation that the ebb of the tide had commenced, a modest estimate of his own powers and capabilities, whatever the factors that might have contributed to his decision, the fact remains that for his own

future the decision was the soundest possible. It hid him from the limelight for the moment, but it did not dwarf him as the adoption of either of the two alternatives would have done.

The two alternatives would have led him to the pitfall of imitation, of Gandhi on the one hand and of his own father on the other and in either case he would have been overshadowed by the brilliance of his model. References to the backnumbers of "Young India" might have drawn the applause of those who needed no convincing, they would not have supplied the enthusing spark which in that state of reaction was the one thing needed. Mr. Rajgopalchari tried and failed. He became a pale and shadowy imitation of Gandhi. The voice rang true, but the accents were weak. He could neither hearten the ranks nor show the path to the disheartened.

For Jawaharlal Nehru there was another drawback. He lacked the religious fervour which had helped his guru on to giddy heights. On the other hand the wide impassable gulf of cynicism divided son from

his father. Pandit Motilal Nehru, seasoned in the moderate school, took the opportunity by the forelock and began concentrating on immediate results on the basic, if implicit, assumption that the destiny of the nation lay in the hands of the British. With this the youthful Nehru had even before non-cooperation made his disagreement perfectly clear.

Presiding at the Benares Provincial Conference after the special session of the Congress at Delhi he said:—

> I do not think it is correct to describe the principal resolutions of the (Delhi) Congress as compromise resolutions. They were only so in so far as certain groups acquiesced in them. I do not think there can be any real or stable compromise between the two principal view-points which have been fighting for mastery in the country. They are fundamentally different. They are both honourable methods and their advocates are brave men and keen thinkers but nonetheless they differ radically.

The religious excitement created by the Khilafat agitation had already taken a turn its authors had least dreamt of and this coupled with the revelations of the Census, led the Hindus to turn their attention to

the Hindu Sabha. Lacking alike the cold cynicism of his father and the religious fervour of the Mahatma the problem that faced Jawaharlal during the depression that overtook the country was to chalk out a path for himself more suited to his temperament. But there was no immediate hurry and delay in such cases is always profitable. He, therefore, drowned himself in the affairs of his home town.

Few men outside the family of the Mahatma could have come in such intimate contact with the man as Jawaharlal, and yet, despite the revolutionary change that that personality effected in hundreds of the flower of the nation, it is impossible to say that he made a convert of Jawaharlal.

The differences are to-day obvious enough in Mr. Gandhi's open dislike of Communism and Jawaharlal Nehru's adulation of its weaker form, Socialism. They are deep-rooted and have for their bases the former's insistence on religion and the latter's frank and unabashed profession of atheism. Discard religion and

the whole fabric of society in India (Hindu and Muslim) is undermined. Destroy capitalism and you destroy—and not till then—the domination of one man over another.

But if he has this lack of the religious element in common with or more defined than his father, he shares with Mr. Gandhi the latter's earnest outspokenness. Pandit Motilal Nehru is essentially a diplomat. He will not enumerate a difference with anybody unless it is to gain a point. Go through his speeches and writings—they are innumberable—and you will not come across one confession of faith. It is atonce his weakness and his strength. It deprives him of the devotee, but it serves his purpose. His function is to lead and he seems to say, "let no declarations of beliefs or prejudices hinder the follower from his plain duty of following me." Thus it came about that history found India united under him at the Lucknow Conference.

No such distinction, we may rest assured, will ever fall to the lot of Jawaharlal Nehru. For him there will be violent

adherents and violent opponents and the greater the number of his adherents the more violent will be the opposition of his "self-created" enemies.

While much that is obvious can be said on the advantages the young Nehru enjoyed owing to the indisputable position of his father in the public life of the country, it is the former's due to record that his own qualities aud the regard bordering on affection he succeeded in creating for himself among the leaders of the land has helped to no small extent in securing for the father a good deal of immunity from violent attacks from the Khilafatists, the no-changers and the Hindu Sabhaites. At a time when the lavish compliments of the Mahatma to Pandit Motilal Nehru only egged them on to uncontrollable fury, it was by no means an unusual sight to see eminent leaders openly regretting their intimacy with Jawaharlal which, as they plainly moaned, was a bar to their dealing with the father in a manner in which a rebel ought to be dealt with.

This relationship was also a vital factor in establishing that supremacy, often called autocracy, which Pandit Motital Nehru has since his release from jail exercised over Congressmen. Despite radical differences of opinion in regard to vital issues, the relations between the two, unlike those of most fathers and sons in other countries under similar circumstances, have been most cordial. It is difficult to believe that Pandit Motilal's respect for his son could have gained in stature with every new departure that the son made from scriptural submission to paternal authority and every new difference of opinion he established, but it is safe to assert that the son's own respect for his father grew with every successive difference that he enumerated. The sacrifices the latter had made in the cause of the country, the simple life he had adopted after decades of most luxurious living, the realisation that the purity of his motive was above question in the sudden turn he had taken, all these must have come home to him with greater force when he found a gulf between them and, as in the case of

the Mahatma, enhanced the respect due almost in proportion to the widening gulf.

This unqualified respect, amounting to reverence, had, as has already been pointed out, a direct bearing on the attitude of some of his most bitter opponents. It had a positive aspect also. It enabled him to commandeer the services of Jawaharlal's colleagues as unhesitatingly as of his son and in the same unconventional manner. It made him treat them all as youngsters needing direction and perhaps paternal control, producing a responsive filial attitude.

Amid distractions, local and national, the illness of his wife came almost as a godsend. For her treatment Jawharlal went to Europe. The vague Socialism of his early days, which must have lost itself in the Khilafat whirlpool, re-asserted itself. He saw a dream come true in Russia and came back rejuvenated.

Mayor of His Home Town.

We have already seen how Jawaharlal Nehru made his mark during the non-co-operation movement by organising a net-work of Congress Committees from one end of the province to another and instilling enthusiasm for the cause in their office-bearers and workers. After his first release from jail we found him taking stock of the situation and selecting the weak spots in the Congress machanism, the result of repression, for personal attendance. He made a tour of investigation and concentrated on the terror-stricken districts, infusing faith in the dispirited people and life in the fading organism. And the extent to which he succeeded was recognised by the Government in his second prosecution and sentence soon after his first release.

His convictions, we have seen, did not permit him to seek election to the legislatures. But even the Mahtama, far from

imposing any ban on the local bodies, had encouraged the participation by Congress workers and leaders in the administration of local boards. After his second release he found the nation engrossed in election issues and side-tracked from the path of non-cooperation and decided to do his little bit for his home town. He was, therefore, elected Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board, an office which he occupied for little over two years from 1922 to 1925.

Installed at the head of the affairs of his home town, he soon began looking about himself with his usual energy and enthusiasm and, within a brief space of time, succeeded in transforming the subservient Board into a truly national body throbbing with life and pulsating with energy. Successive Commissioners, while condemning the new spirit underlying the administration and the teaching in municipal schools of "disaffection for the Government established in India" vied with one another in paying compliments to the man whom their brothers in

the bureaucracy had during the preceding three years been vying to see safely lodged in jail for longer and still longer terms.

Whilst opportunity for constructive work is denied to Indians, one of the charges of British bureaucrats and their friends against agitators is that their work is mainly destructive. Even in the limited field of local bodies opportunities are so limited and hedged in by official prerogative and interference that men of ability and independence (and the two qualities almost always go together) find it impossible to carry on without stumbling against the stonewall of official prejudice and arrogance. The inevitable result is that, even when men of the right type succeed in getting into the right place, they soon find themselves succeeded by the old type of flunkeys whose work is confined to getting tips from Collectors and Commissioners in the hope of seeing their names in the next honours' list. But despite all that Mr. C. R. Das in Calcutta, Mr. V. J. Vatel in Bombay, Mr. Vallabhai Patel in Ahmedabad and

Jawaharlal Nehru in Allahabad should be supposed to have amply proved the agitators' genius for constructive work and statesmanship.

We shall now let the reviews of the Commissioner of Allahabad Division with regard to the work, year by year, of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board speak for themselves.

Mr. C. L. Alexander, I. C. S., reviewing his work for the period 1922 to 1925 wrote:

I have seen with pleasure many signs of improved efficiency in the administration and am convinced that the present Board compares well in that respect with its predecessors. Efforts have been made to increase the income from Municipal property and the realisation of taxes and other dues, and they have been successful to a very great extent. It is most satisfactory also that attention has been given to the rapid disposal of building applications and that good work is being done in the way of improving and providing open spaces. My impression is, however, that the improvement in the administration is largely due to the Chairman, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and a few public-spirited members of the Board, and that a large proportion of the members merely clog the wheels.

It is interesting that the Board are endeavouring to introduce the spirit of nationalism and the following measurers are noteworthy :—

(1) Organisation of spinning in school.
(2) Scouting in school.
(3) Substitution of Hindustani for English.
(4) Addition of Tilak and Gandhi days to the list of holidays.
(5) Omission of Empire Day from the list of holidays.
(6) Addresses of welcome to Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mr. Gandhi.
(7) Celebration of Mr. Gandhi's discharge from jail.
(8) Resolution refusing welcome to the Viceroy.
(9) Systematic encouragement to the school children to participate freely in meetings and national demonstrations.

With the exception of scouting and even that can be converted into a political movement and the substitution of Hindustani for English none of these measures have even a remote connection with the work of the Municipality and many of them are directly contrary to its interests as designed to antagonise the Government on whose bounty the Board solely depends. Further they are all measures advocated by the Congress party, and it is illegitimate for the members of the Board to use their position for the advancement of the programme of one political party. It is

also, I consider, improper for the Congress members of the Board to instil into the children, who attend the municipal schools for the sake of education, their peculiar political ideas and distorted ideas of patriotism, and still more so to teach them disaffection for the Government established in India.

I note that the Board have finally passed the scheme for making education compulsory, but sanction should be withheld unless education is divorced from politics. I presume that they intend to finance the schemes entirely from their own resources, as they would hardly have the audacity to ask for Government aid in compelling the children of Allahabad to acquire the "new spirit" as defined in their report.

Mr. V. A. Stowell, Commissioner, Allahabad Division, in his review of 1922-23 said :—

The total increase in the income of the Board showed an improvement of Rs. 1,57,600 or Rs. 1,31,251 after the exclusion of Government grants.

It is gratifying to note that there was no breakdown of the water supply during the year.

I am glad to note that the health and sanitation of the town has been good and the year was free from epidemics.

In the matter of education the report gives a satisfactory account of the year's working. I hope the Board will come to an early decision regarding the question of introducing compulsory education stipulated by them.

I am glad to learn that the Board is doing all it can towards the improvement of the general condition of its roads It has promised Rs. 85,000 for the repair of roads which is a hopeful sign.

The Board has appointed a retrenchment committee. It is evidently a serious task before the Board to devise measures to produce a satisfactory equilibrium.

Again Mr. V. A. Stowell in another report said :—

The administration of the year was on the whole most satisfactory and credit is due to those who directed it. The administration of a large city is a heavy, difficult and thankless task and as Chairman you will find. I fear, the year's journey a thorny road to tread and less conducive to peace of mind than the silent meditation of the previous year to which you refer. I trust, however, the journey and the task will prove profitable both to yourself and Allahabad.

Mr. J. C. Smith, wrote in 1925 :—

The administration of the year was on the whole most satisfactory and credit is due to Pandit Jawaharlal. The municipality owes a great deal to the wise and careful guidance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who filled the office of Chairman of the Board for nearly the whole year. His resignation was much regretted both by the public and by the Government for he discharged the duties of his office with marked ability and devotion and with conspicuous fairness to all parties in the Board.

Trip to Europe.

In compliance with the resolution of the Indian National Congress passed at Gauhati appointing him their representative at the International Congress against Imperialism, Jawaharlal attended its first session held at Brussels and took an active part in it.

Jawaharlal was a member of the Praesidium or the Presiding or Subject Committee of the Brussels Congress. On the first day he was one of those who delivered the opening addresses. Each session of the Congress usually had a different president, supported by two others on either side of him. Most of the heads of the various delegations had thus a chance of presiding and on one occasion Jawaharlal Nehru also presided.

The Praesidium was later made into the General Council of the League with five

honorary presidents of the Council. Jawaharlal is one of these, the others being Einstein, Romain Rolland, Madame Sun Yet Sen and Ceorge Lansbury. Jawaharlal was also elected a member of the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism.

The Congress was the first of its kind ever held and, supplying as it did a real want, was a success mainly owing to the desire for mutual cooperation among the oppressed and exploited all over the world. People came long distances to attend it. Many in South Africa and South America raised subscriptions to which the poor contributed. An idea of its success can be had from the fact that Egypt, Persia, Syria, Dutch East Indies, Annam, Korea, Morrocco, French North Africa (Arab and Negro) South Africa (Negro and White minority movements) Mexico and the states of Central and South America were represented at the Ccngress while European countries sent labour leaders of the first rank in the Socialist movement.

In the report he submitted to the Indian National Congress he tells us he found it exceedingly interesting to meet the various types of humanity represented in the Congress. "The Chinese," he tells us, "were most of them very young and full of energy and enthusiasm. The traditional notion of the placid and tranquil Chinese received a rude shock and one was confronted with a group of persons with little of the subtleties of the hardened intellectual but with a great deal of driving force and a desire to fill the picture. The Chinese representatives were the natural products of a revolution and I was led regretfully to wish that we in India might also develop some of this energy and driving force at the expense, if need be, of some of our intellectuality."

The Indonesians chiefly from Java were even more interesting. They were Moslems but even their names were partly derived from Sanskrit. Many of them bore a striking resemblance to the high caste Hindus, and their customs, they said, were largely

Hindu in origin. There are many Budhists in Indonesia and Indians at the Congress were glad to learn that the relations between the Moslems and the Buddhists were uniformly good and both of them worked together for the independence of heir country.

The negroes present varied from the darkest black to every shade of brown. There were able men among them, he tells us, full of energy and eloquence, but they bore traces of the terrible times which their country has gone through more perhaps than any other people. "Listening to their harrowing tale of suffering and their present unhappy condition one felt that the obstacles in their way were greater than any which other struggling peoples had to face and that full freedom would come to them only with the emancipation of all the peoples of the world."

The Arabs from Syria and North Africa were very different. Typical fighting men they were, who understood independence and fighting for it and cared for little else

and were wholly untainted with the slav-mentality of the more intellectual races.

The people from Latin America, dark as the Northern Indian, were again a different and interesting type. Most of those from Asia, Jawaharlal tells us, were wholly ignorant of the problems of South America, and of how the rising imperialism of the United States, with its tremendous resources and its immunity from outside attack, is gradually taking a strong hold of Central and South America. "But we are not likely to remain ignorant much longer for the great problem of the near future will be American imperialism even more than British Imperialism which appears to have had its day and is crumbling fast. Or it may be, and all indications point to it, that the two will unite together in an endeavour to create a powerful Anglo-Saxon block to dominate the world."

It was this bogey of the United States and the fear that they might not be able to stand up against them unaided, that drove

them to seek for help from outside. So far the weakness of Latin America has been want of unity. Each state quarrels with the other and often within the states also there is disunion, usually fomented by the United States. An instructive outcome of the Brussels Congress was the achievement of unity between the delegates of the various South American States.

In these days of race hatred in South Africa and ill-treatment of Indians "it was pleasing to hear the representatives of white workers giving expression to the most advanced opinions on the equality of races and of workers of all races." The negro and the white jointly represented the South African workers and they worked together in the Congress.

Among the flags put up in the hall where the Brussels Congress was held was the Indian national flag. There were also big charts to show the prevalence of famines in India during the last hundred years and more; and a striking one showing the way Indian troops had been used in

various parts of the world to conquer or oppress other peoples and fight the battles of British Imperialism.

The principal objects of the Congress, as disclosed by Jawaharlal Nehru in the report he submitted to the Indian National Congress, were to bring about cooperation between the different national liberation movements and a coordination between such movements and the labour movements of various countries. This presupposes that there is a great deal in common between the national movements and also between them and the workers' struggle for emancipation. The former appears obvious enough, though it often happens that when an oppressed country achieves freedom it becomes, in its turn, an aggressor and oppressor of others. A narrow nationalism frequently fights another narrow nationalism when interests conflict, but both are of the same genus and equally likely to develop into aggresive imperialism if an opportunity occurs. But this conflict cannot occur between two

oppressed nations, unless one of them is utilised as India has been so often in the past, by the imperialist aggressor to oppress another. The second supposition however raises deeper problems. Are the interests of workers in other countries the same as our national interests ?

There is a growing belief in labour circles in England and the rest of the world that the exploitation of the subject people does not greatly benefit the labouring classes of the country which exploits. The only persons who really benefit are a small group of capitalists and but for the system which gives so much power to this little group there would be few causes of friction between the workers of different countries.

There can be no doubt that advanced labour opinion at present is distinctly opposed to the exploitation of another country as it believes that it ultimately results in a reduction in their own wages in the home country and in a lowering of the standards. They feel that the safest

way to protect themselves is to try to better the condition of the worker in the exploited country. Obvious possibilities of conflict in interests are when the exploited country boycotts the goods of the exploiting country as this necessarily results in increasing the unemployment of the workers of the latter country. In regard to this the example of China is much to the point. The Canton Government, as is well-known, carried on an intensive boycott of British goods and with such success that the great British commercial centre of Hongkong was nearly ruined and could only be kept going by large grants from the British exchequer. The great strength of China to-day is this power of economic boycott, which has placed the British in an extraordinarily difficult position from which they are unable to extricate themselves.

The Chinese boycott has done great injury to British trade and must have added to unempoymentin England but, Jawaharlal pointed out no protest has ever been

made by British labour. It is apparently recognised by them that the Chinese, under the circumstances, had a right to boycott. Indeed, instead of protesting, British labour has during the present crisis given a magnificent demonstration of solidarity with the Chinese national movement and has succeeded largely in toning down the aggressive policy of the British Government. Partly this is due to the recognition that the Chinese movement has, as its basic programme, the emancipation of the peasants and labourers. According to this principle, there appears to be no reason why outside labour should have the right to object to a boycott of Lancashire or other British goods which the Indian national movement may carry on. If, however, the Indian movement is run in the interests of vested interests and capitalism only, then, of course, there is little common ground between it and the workers' movements elsewhere. It might result, indeed in the achievement of some measure of political liberty and a change in the people

who exploit either by themselves or together with foreign exploiters but if the Indian national movement concerns itself with the economic liberty of the masses as well as its political liberty then the causes of friction with similar movements elsewhere ought to be few.

The problem of China dominated the Brussels Congress and many of the resolutions were directly and indirectly connected with it. Next came India. As, owing to lack of time, some resolutions relating to other countries could not be taken up there were a few protests and it was stated, though with all gentleness, that the Congress was proceeding as if it was almost an Indo-Chinese one. But there was no real objection to the prominence given to China and partly to India, as everybody appeared to be convinced that the coming success of China would soon be followed by the success of India and the achievement of full freedom by these two countries would be a very great step forward in the emancipation of all oppressed peoples.

Among the principal resolutions adopted by the Brussels Congress were four relating to India. One of these ran :—

This Congress accords its warm support te the Indian national movement for the completo freedom of India and is of opinion that the liberation of India from foreign domination and all kinds of exploitation is an essential step in the full emancipation of the peoples of the world.

The Congress trusts that the peoples and workers of other countries will fully co-operate in this task and will especially take effective steps to prevent the despatch of foreign troops to India and the retention of an army of occupation in that land.

This Congress further trusts the Indian national movement will bas eits programme on the full emancipation of the peasants and workers of India without which there can be no real freedom and will co-operate with the movements for emancipation in other parts of the world.

The stress laid on the necessity for the removal of the British army of occupation was the result of the frequent mention made during the Congress sessions and strong objection taken to the despatch of troops from China to India.

The second resolution was a joint declaration of the Indian and Chinese

delegates and placed on record their intimate association which from the days when the message of social emancipation which Gautama Buddha gave found a ready welcome in China and Chinese pilgrims and scholars came to India to learn of her wisdom, to the unhappy interruption of this inter-course at the beginning of British domination.

The Indian and Chinese delegates made the following declaration :—

For more than three thousand years the people of India and China were united by the most intimate cultural ties. From the days of Budha to the end of the Moghal period and the beginning of British domination in India this friendly intercourse continued uninterrupted.

After the East India Company had, by intrigue and force, secured its firm hold on the greater part of India, the English began looking for new sources of revenue and new markets. They not only introduced poppy cultivation into areas where food had previously been grown, but also thrust Indian opium on the unwilling Chinese people by force of arms. Since that infamous Opium War of 1840-44 Indian mercenary troops have been sent again and again to China in support of British capitalist brigandage. For 87 years Indian troops have been permanently stationed as policemen in Hongkong, Shanghai,

etc. Time and again they have been used to shoot down Chinese workers and have thus created ill-will in China against the people of India.

With the strengthening of British Imperialism India was cut off more and more from intercourse with China, and in their cultural and intellectual isolation the Indian people have now become completely ignorant of the condition of China.

It is this extreme ignorance which makes it difficult to-day to organise effective means of preventing India's money and man-power from being used for the enslavement of the Chinese people. We think it urgent and essential that active propaganda should be carried on in India to educate the people regarding China and to arouse them to the necessity of immediate action. We must now resume the ancient personal, cultural and political relations between the two peoples. British imperialism, which in the past has kept us apart aud done us so much injury, is now the very force that is uniting us in a common endeavour to overthrow it.

We trust that the leaders of the Indian national movement will do all in their power to co-ordinate their struggle with that of the Chinese people so that by simultaneously engaging with British imperialism on two of its most vital fronts China may receive active support in her present struggle and the final victory of both peoples may be secured.

The third resolution was a signed declaration of the British, Indian and Chinese delegates. It was suggested to the British

delegates that their country was the chief sinner both in regard to India and China and it would be desirable if they prepared a statement as to what they proposed doing. This they did and their draft was accepted by the Indian and Chinese delegates who recognised that this was a courageous declaration and laid down an effective line of action even in regard to India.

The declaration which was signed by all British delegates, including Mr. George Lansbury, and by Jawaharlal Nehru, ran as follows :—

We the undersigned British, Indian and Chinese delegations consider that the task of all working class forces in imperialist countries is :—

(1) To fight for full emancipation side by side with the national forces in oppressed countries in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire.

(2) To oppose all forms of coercion against colonial peoples.

(3) To vote against all credits, naval, military and air, for the maintenance of armed forces to be used against oppressep nations.

(4) To expose the horrors of imperialism to the civil and military populations.

(5) To expose imperialistic policy in the light of working class struggle for freedom.

In relation to the immediate situation in China.

(1) We demand the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Chinese territories and waters.

(2) We urge the need of direct action, including strikes and the imposition of the embargo to prevent movements of munitions and troops either to India, or China and from India to China.

(3) That estimates relating either to warlike preparations or to war shall be voted against.

(4) That in the event of armed intervention or open war, every effort shall be made within the labour movement to use every weapon possible in the working class struggle to prevent hostilities.

(5) We demand the unconditional recognition of the National Government, the abolition of the unequal treaties and of extra-territorial rights and the surrender of foreign concessions.

(6) Finally, in the interests of the Trade Union and Labour movements in Britain, India and China, we pledge ourselves to work for their immediate, close and active co-operation.

The declaration as a whole referred to the duty of "working-class forces in Imperialist countries" which so far as the signatories were concerned meant Britain. It laid down a very clear and definite advanced policy for British labour but did not represent the majority opinion in British Labour.

The fourth resolution in which the Indian delegates were interested was about Mesopotamia. It was felt by them that as no delegate from Mesopotamia was present and as Indian troops had conquered and were stationed in Mesopotamia and a large number of Indian clerks and others were taking part in the exploitation of the country, it was up to them to demand the recall of the army of occupation and to say that they wished to be no parties to this Imperial adventure, even though they might profit a little from the drippings of British exploitation.

Independence League.

It is perhaps in consonance with the scheme of things that motive and intention are placed in the forefront of the criteria that lead to the recognition of the work of publicists, politicians and statesmen, or else the chief motive for public spirit would die out from sheer starvation. But it is well to remember that often enough the meat our benefectors feed on is supplied by none other than their opponents and almost invariably by the ablest and therefore the strongest, among them.

Thus the real authorship of the non-co-operation movement may be traced directly to the regime in the Punjab of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in his day the strongest exponent of the theory of iron rule then prevalent. And the rise of the independence movement may with great historical justification be traced directly to the memorable pronouncement of Sir Malcolm Hailey, again

by far the ablest of the present-day civilians.

This pronouncement, which officially remained uncontradicted for over five years, formed the *raison d'etre* of the independence movement. In his speech in the Legislative Assembly on February 8th, 1924, Sir Malcolm Hailey, then Home Member of the Government of India, observed :

"If you analyse the term " full dominion self-government, you will see that it is of somewhat wider extent, conveying that not only will the executive be responsible to the legislature, but the legislature will in itself have the full powers which are tpyical of the modern dominion. I say there is some difference of substance because responsible government is not necessarily incompatible with a legislature with limited or restricted powers. It may be that full dominion self-government is the logical outcome of responsible government, nay, it may be the inevitable and historical development of responsible government, but it is a further and final step."

This speech marked the beginning of a new current of thought in official circles in India and was re-echoed in the speeches of British statesmen and writings in the British

press. It marked also the beginning of a new current of thought among Indians.

Sir Malcolm Hailey's arguments and the implications of his arguments were at once repudiated by the members of the Legislative Assembly and by moderate Indian opinion outside the Assembly, but there was, in this case at any rate, a saner section ready to admit that those who had the right to define the goal and determine the stages "of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India", might also with justice be conceded the right to interpret that goal. From this to the definition of their own goal by the more self-respecting among them was but a step. And it was taken.

Four years later the Nehru report made explicit another argument inherent in the formation of the Independence League in the following words: "If Sir Malcolm Hailey is right in saying that in a system of responsible government the

legislature may be one with limited or restricted powers, then full dominion self-government cannot for obvious reasons be the logical outcome of responsible government; it can only come as a further and a final step when the restrictions or limitations placed on the powers of the legislature have been removed."

The declaration was made from the seat of the mighties and produced widespread despair throughout the country. Among the youth of the land the despair was soon succeeded by a grim resolve and they gave their answer through the Independence League and the Youth movement.

Quite apart from the intrinsic value of the movement and the hair-splitting distinctions that are sometimes sought to be drawn between Dominion status and independence, the history of the past few years had its own lessons to teach. It made it amply clear that the Government of Lord Reading and the all-embracing sedition sections of the Penal Code, which remained inviolate on the Statute Book, made no

distinction between the advocates of violence and of non-violence, or between the adv ocates of independence and of dominion status. And the leaders and workers of the National Congress, to whom alone this lack of distinction mattered, began slowly to realise, with bitterness born of frequent sojourns as His Majesty's guests in jails, that there was little fun in upholding the cause of the British Crown.

The argument holds the field. If long periods of imprisonment and vin dictive, almost inhuman, treatment inside the jail are to be the assigned rewards of patriotism, it is as well that the goal were made more attractive. The higher the ideal the greater will be the call for sacrifice.

And so it was that those who did not believe in reason and suasion in response to Lord Birkenhead's insolence acclaimed Jawaharlal Nehru as their leader when he unfurled the banner of independence at the Madras Congress. The declaration was supported even by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Annie Besant, and,

as became clear subsequently and at the next session of the Congress, was a stroke of diplomacy meant to subdue and perhaps to show their place to the Simon Commission and the Haileys of the day. Underlying it was the political fact the stronger the school of independence the nearer we are to Dominion status. It had the immediate effect of putting them on the defensive, a position from which they were never destined completely to recover.

But the urge guiding Jawaharlal was different. In his trip to Europe he had found, like many another Indian, that India's sympathisers abroad were unable to understand the Indian cry for "Home Rule," "Responsible Government" or "Dominion Status," when to their mind what a country which had nothing in common with Britain and subordinate to it should be fighting for was independence. To this was added another argument obvious to those in distant lands who could therefore take a distant view. "If you cry for Dominion Status or Home Rule or

Responsible Government, you are, on your own showing, demanding nothing more than provincial autonomy under a strong centralised Government." How true their observation was, was shown by the change brought about, by the rise of the independence movement, in the entire outlook of Britishers on Indian affairs.

This is only in the nature of things. Talk of cooperation and your masters will hint at condescension, if and when well-pleased. Talk of non-cooperation and they will talk of cooperation. Talk of non-violence and they will throw wide open the gates on their prison walls. Talk of violence and they will meet non-cooperators as bosom friends. Talk of dominion status and they will talk of restricted responsible government. Talk of independence and they will talk of dominion status. Such is the power of shouting, shouting together and shouting long. And if this shouting were not interpersed with mutual recrimination there would be ground for the belief that British dominion in India

would give way like the walls of Joriche if the noise Indians made was loud enough.

Another reason why Jawaharlal considers dominion status as an ideal will lead India away from the right path is that "it makes us think that sanctions are not necessary and that is a dangerous thought. Even a child in politics knows that without strength behind it a demand is worthless."

There was another argument which held valid until a few months ago, before the advent of the Labour Government in Britain. No amount of bribery can persuade to a share in the loot those who have hailed Gandhi as the gospeller of freedom and righteousness. Presiding at the United Provinces Provincial Conference at Jhansi Jawaharlal Nehru said in October, 1928.

"India cannot be at peace with England till she has attained her freedom. That is the pshychological, the fundamental reason for our desiring and working for independence. This freedom cannot come by our becoming partners, even if that were possible, in that imperialist concern which is called the British Empire.

We have had enough of empire and of imperialism and we have realised, or ought to realise, that imperialism and freedom are as the poles apart. The day England sheds her imperialism we shall gladly cooperate with her. But do you see any signs of it ? Or are you simple enough to imagine that we can reform her from within by first entering her empire or Commonwealth ? England to-day is the arch-priest of imperialism and perhaps the worst offenders are those of her Labour Party who have the remarkable capacity for combining tall-talk about freedom and self-determination with full-blooded imperialism.

" It is not England that is our enemy. It is imperialism and where imperialism is, there we cannot willingly remain."

The Youth Movement.

One of the most heartening signs in the aftermath of the non-cooperation movement has been the rise of the Youth Movement. Its comparatively rapid growth may be said to be due mainly to two misfortunes, one national and the other international, *viz.*, the outburst of communal frenzy and the world war respectively.

The havoc caused by the war roused the conscience of the young in India as well as the rest of the progressive world. Even though India did not suffer as much as the continent of Europe, her sufferings wore a bitter aspect. With the passage of years and the trend of events it became increasingly clear that India's help and participation in the Great War had but tightened her chains of bondage and the nations which emerged triumphant had but grown more and more imperialistic with the realisation of the weakness of their erstwhile opponents.

The other main factor which helped the growth of the Youth Movement was the utter failure of the communal amity on which Mr. Gandhi's movement was based. That movement foundered on the bedrock of Hindu-Moslem religiosity. Riots broke out all over the land. The Mahatma and Ali Brothers, who symbolised this unity during the upheaval, drifted apart. Quite apart from the expediency of the basis on which Mr. Gandhi in all sincerity sought to build the edifice of Hindu Moslem unification, it became clear as the movement waned that the foundations of that structure would have to be laid anew and that emphasis would have to be laid higher up than the nomenclature of the religions concerned.

Religion first is a dangerous dictum in politics. In a country with a variety of religions, both contrary and contradictory, it is simply impossible. It leads straight to disruption. It takes you away from the path of reason and commonsense—for what a man believes is his religion and no one

can argue him out of it, much less one not of that faith. Rotten old books with commands on trivial affairs make the position infinitely worse. If religion is simply insistence on elementary ethics then surely our task is to find common denominators for common efforts, common courts of appeal for common action, Justice and Tolerance for Koran and the Vedas.

It was not the non-cooperation movement alone which foundered on this ancient rock of religious bias. The Swaraj Party which began its ostentatious career with the grandiloquent title, "Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party" had almost suffered the same fate but for the astuteness of its leader who showed himself a past master in the art of manoeuvring, gaining now the support of this to make up for the loss of that faction, but always re-affirming, as it were, the catholicity of his leadership till at last he found himself acclaimed by those he had started to destroy. The violent attack on the Nehru report by a section of Moslem leaders is only another phase of

the mentality which forced Mr. Shaukat Ali to part company with the Mahatma at Kohat.

What was clearly needed, therefore, was an organisation to attack religion which, after all, provides the foundations of communalism as of so many other ancient evils of this world. This function the National Congress could not clearly undertake so long as its main strength consisted in its numbers and in the lack of antagonism towards it among the various communities inhabiting the land. It could only be taken in hand by a select organisation, courageous and wilful, fully knowing the task it is about, *viz.*, that of educating the leaders of the land and teaching them the rudiments of nationalism. In a country which has had a surfeit of all varieties of religions the necessity of cautious advance was doubtless not to be overlooked. Hence we find the aims and ideals of the Youth League rather euphemistically stated as follows:—

The object of the Provincial Youth Organisation will be to bring together the Youth

Leagues in the province with a view to building up an organisation of young men and women in the province. The League will aim at the attainment of national and social freedom and well-being, and will endeavour to infuse in youth a spirit of disciplined service and self-sacrifice for the attainment of the complete freedom of India and for the betterment of society.

In particular the League will—

(i) fight communaliam in every shape and form, and foster among its members a broad and tolerant outlook ;

(ii) encourage in every way the use of Swadeshi goods and specially the use of Indian hand-spun and hand-woven cloth ;

(iii) help in evolving an economic structure of society which is based on mutual cooperation and not on the exploitation of workers in field, factory or elsewhere ; and to reduce as far as possible the present inequalities in society ;

(iv) work for the abolition of antiquated social and religious customs that have long outlived their usefulness and specially to root out the cruel and unsocial custom of untouchability ;

(v) endeavour to remove the disabilities of women, which prevent them from taking their part in the social life of the community;

(vi) develop in the youth of the province the habit of sound study of public questions and of independent thought, disciplined freedom and the civic sense of responsibility ;

(vii) encourage cooperative enterprises among the youth and especially help students to become self-supporting ;

(viii) help in improving the efficiency of youth and in fitting them for disciplined national service by means of physical culture and volunteer training.

(ix) encourage the study of international questions and develop contacts with youth organisations in other provinces of India and in foreign countries.

And the League will undertake such other activities in which the youth of the province may be vitally interested.

It is doubtful if all the leaders of the Youth Movement in India realise the philosophy underlying it. No less a man than Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the greatest among India's younger leaders and in many respects the only rival of Jawaharlal Nehru though younger than mhs is known, for instance, to have laid stress on India's glorious past on which he has advised the younger generation to

look back for guidance and inspiration. This sort of advice, however great its sentimental appeal, should now, it ought to be perfectly obvious, be given with the greatest circumspection and with the most explicit reservations. For, in the last resort, what does it amount to but a reference to the old hydra-tongued Sanskrit texts?

There is, besides, a deeper issue involved. If the Hindu, and it is he who is generally addressed when advice of this kind is sought to be administered, is to be asked to look back on the India of two or three thousand years ago for the ideal he should attain in days to come, what is to prevent the Moslem leader from advising his following to do likewise. And that invariably involves a conflicting reference back to the *Koran* and the *Hadis* and the pristine glory of Islam mostly obtaining in countries other than Hindustan. It has to be distinctly uuderstood that the average Moslem, with the present line of cleavage between him and the Hindu,

cannot with the latter share the ancient glory of Bharat Varsha, howsoever enviable in theory or fact it might have been. He will never be able to rejoice in it in the manner the Hindu can. It is against the grain. Rather is it for the Hindus to look to the Moslems and the Christians to enable themselves to eliminate the chaff from the grain, as it is for the Moslems to look to the Hindus and Christians for that most essential operation and for the Christians to derive similar benefits from their contact with Hindus and Moslems. That way lies progress and understanding and what is not much valued in the land to-day—intellectual honesty. The way of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is the way of cultural conflict. It contains deep down within it the seeds of endless dissension. And it is a serious reflection on the genuineness of the leader's claims that talk of this kind, best fitted for the Hindu Sabha platform, should be indulged, without even the possible plea of oversight, by one whose province boasts of a majority of Moslems.

What, when all is said, is the object of this vague and by itself meaningless cry: "Back to the Golden Age"? What is it exactly that the protagonists of the Satyuga mean when they indulge in that kind of anti-patriotic rubbish. Generally, to give them credit, nothing definite is meant or signified, for no one on the point is more ill-informed than themselves and if it came to a question of "historical" knowledge, as evidenced in the Ramayana or the Bhagwad, the man in the street might safely be presumed to be better informed. It is to that "better informed" individual that the appeal is addressed; and it is this splendid visionary vagueness that is the fountain-source of undying mischief for it leaves room for the individual to fill in the vague outlines with his own prejudices and notions gathered mostly from story books read at an immature age. It is only so long as these leaders are not asked to clarify their statements and substantiate them that they can go about making mischief and spreading broadcast the seeds of superstition and ignorance.

The questions that can be addressed to these enthusiasts, with the certainty that they will wait for an answer till the Greek calends, are simple in the extreme. What does this cry of ancient culture refer to? Where can we find it expounded? To what department of life, to which sphere of human activity are we to apply the simple maxim, back to the past, supposing that particular past were plainly visible? Is it in the sphere of women, of industry, of the relations between the sexes, in the form of Government or of Government's position in Society, or in regard to landlords and tenants, that we are called to accept the lead of the dark ages?

The fact is that they have only to be made to make themselves plain and to come to grips with the logical sequence of their position to be made to realize the absurdity and the futility of their standpoint. For no sooner will they descend to that sequence than they will be faced with the urgent necessity of first des-

cribing the conditions in the past, mostly a blurred creation of their vacant imagination. And no sooner they do so than a host of Pandits and Ulema will be upon them for the sacrilege of misrepresenting the sacred past and for the warrant and the authority of their statements. Should their utopias survive the onslaught of the real representatives of the ancient order of things and the shock of the discovery of their own utter ignorance, it is certain that those they try to win over by sophistry and fine phrases would not respond to the dry-as-dust details of their schemes, while their critics would not lose the opportunity to laugh their muddle-headedness to scorn, a muddle-headedness of which, in the end, none would be left more conscious than themselves.

It is not suggested that all Indian leaders have been so wanting in the understanding of their own meaning as not to try to follow the sequence of their thought. Mr. Gandhi with inimitable courage did so in his "Indian Home Rule", and

condemned machinery as the chief symbol of modern civilization. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also, though not in the same explicit manner, has at least resorted to Sanskrit texts and philological disputes with the learned Pandits. The Ali Brothers also, in course of time, emerged as Moulanas with the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* as the foremost claimant to their loyalty. All honour to their sincerity and honesty of purpose. But is it equally clear that all those who would talk in their accents and lisp their great-hearted, albeit unfortunate, language, are prepared to follow their path.

The fact is that our leaders have not yet decided to face the realities of the situation in an honest and straightforward manner. Bred up as we are, we have not the heart to do it. What is wanted first is an honest and intelligent conversion of the intellect and then an earnest attempt at devising ways and means to hasten what the process of time is slowly forcing upon us and at adapting ourselves to the changed economic system. This is not likely to be

accomplished by the cry, Hindu or Moslem, " Back to the Vedas" or " Back to the Koran."

Presiding at the Provincial Conference of the United Provinces at Jhansi in 1928 Jawaharlal Nehru said: " We have the curious fact to-day that some of our prominent politicians talk loudly of independence and yet claim all manner of communal rights and privileges. We are told repeatedly that the heart of this community or that is sound. I have no doubt that the heart of every community is sound, but this strange mixture of communalism and independence makes me doubt if the heads of those who combine the two are sound. For there is nothing in common between the two and you cannot build the noble edifice of a free India on the shifting and sandy foundations of communalism."

All Parties Conference.

Eloquence given, the problem for politicians, more often than not, is to forbear making use of it. The ambition to fill the picture is natural enough. For the politician, who takes his convictions seriously, to play his part in the national drama is a part of his duty to the motherland. The public has a short memory : to fall out of the limelight is to degenerate into a back-number. Yet, when all is said, self-restraint on the platform, or, what is better still, the strength to avoid it altogether on occasions, sometimes for months and years at a stretch, is perahps one of the rarest as well as the most necessary attributes in a politician. The career of many a leader would have been differently written were he but possessed of this quality of withdrawing into his shell.

Undue talkativeness is a vice in society. In politics it is a crime against one's own

self. If a man wants to command respect he needs must cultivate the habit of keeping quiet. If his words are to be listened to they must be few. The smaller fries aside, our own times furnish examples of a number of leaders who, despite their great contribution to the national movement, have not only failed to rise higher but diminished in stature on account of their loquacity. Thus Lala Lajpat Rai, Moulana Muhammad Ali and Mr Srinivasa Iyengar have all suffered the poisoned shafts of ridicule to disfigure their great and monumental work.

Despite what ill-disposed critics may say, it cannot be said of Jawaharlal Nehru that he has been possessed of an uncontrollable desire to dominate the field. From 1923 to the end of 1927 he kept himself engaged in quiet, unobtrusive work as General Secretary of the Indian National Congress and Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board. Those who were generous in their opinion of him during the non-cooperation movement did not forget

to be hypercritical during the depression. He lacks his father's intellect, said one. His sincerity is the sincerity of a fanatic, said another. That of a martyr welcoming the cross, said a third. And, they all agreed, he was an enthusiast suddenly deprived of his inspiration by the disappearance of the Mahatma within prison bars. But untroubled by the echo of his own thunder, he got time to evolve a philosophy of his own, and soon enough at the Madras Congress the time came for him to unfurl his banner, and, again, to fill the picture with his father and yet against him at one of the greatest conferences ever held in this country.

Conferences come and go and on the accustomed and hardened visitor they leave but a faint impression behind, a confused feeling of success or failure, a vague notion of some striking speeches and a hazy recollection of brilliant passages-at-arms or of strokes of humour on the stage or behind the scenes. But some there are which one remembers not for

their success however great, not even for the epoch-making events that they might have been, but because out of them rose to shine lustrous in the firmament a star destined to outshine all others :—

"Some figured flame that blends, transcends them all."

Out of the all parties' conference that died a glorious death on the 31st of August, 1928, the solitary figure of Jawaharlal Nehru rises with those sorrowful eyes—homes of silent prayer—and those determined teeth clenched as if to subdue the surging tide of emotion or to avoid, may be, the rising lump in the throat, those eye-brows knit in righteous indignation or that brow raised in agonised questioning, and that wonderful voice and those tender accents, the etherial embodiment of all that is honest and sincere, and of a patriotism blind, intense, ferocious. The speech he delivered before reading out the statement on behalf of the Independence League was worth going ten thousand miles to hear. It touched chords as yet untouched,

indeed unsuspected. It wrenched the heart, without mercy and without pity. Devoid of all artistic effect, it did all this with an unconscious simplicity that spoke volumes of the mountain of volcanic energy within.

And those who heard him wondered how it was that this explicit parting of the way between father and son had not come about earlier. It was the parting of the ways not only for father and son but for the younger and the older generation, between the Swarajists, and the Responsivists and the Liberals on the one hand, and the Communists, the Socialists and the Independence Leaguers on the other. Long enough, it seemed, had sentimental considerations stood in the way of the country's political progress, long enough had the father tried to bring himself into line with the son, long enough had the son tried to accommodate the aged father and to desist from the path his reason and his patriotism alike dictated. The old familiar voice of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal

diagnosed that it was the privilege of youth to be irritated and their misfortune to lose sight of realities. But Jawaharlal had provided an answer, as if in anticipation. What are the realities of realists. "You think that in this world there are only two countries, India and England," and then, "why a British Commonwealth? Why not a World Commonwealth?" Why not? and no one but the echo at the Conference had an answer.

Yet his chief contribution to the All-Parties Conference did not consist in the negative attitude he adopted in the statement read out there on behalf of the Independence League dissociating it from the resolution regarding Dominion status. It consisted rather in the firm Socialistic stand he maintained throughout the deliberations and the evidence it afforded of the extent to which Socialism had begun to claim adherents among Congressmen. Clauses guaranteeing title to property and defining the inflexibility of the constitution naturally came in for hefty attacks from Jawaharlal and the onslaught on the former

appeared to have been so welcomed by the Conference that the leading landlords present there had to implore the father to save the Conference from developing into a Socialist show.

His vigorous attack on the clause guaranteeing title to property naturally infuriated the landlords, one of whom interrupted his speech with the significant cry: "Demolish Anand Bhawan!" The interrupter was greeted with cries of "shame" and more unseemly shouts, but, when calm had been restored, J vaharlal passed on with the observation that the objection of his frien l was not without its point.

It is not out o place here to set out the implications of the political theory which Jawaharlal Nehru has definitely adopted. In a Socialist state, which it is now his declared endeavour to see established in India, there will admittedly be no room for such huge discrepancies in the mode of life of the people as to-day permit a Jawaharlal to live in an Anand Bhawan while thousands of his country men have not a roof to

call their own for the night. It will further not be possible for a Motilal Nehru to earn Rs. 2,500 a day while millions of his countrymen cannot earn the same amount during a lifetime. And, again, it will not be possible for a Jawaharlal, as it is possible to-day, to inherit his father's millions without being forced to contribute the lion's share of his inheritance to the State.

The excited landlord who interjected his sole contribution to the All Parties Conference in that forceful manner might have paused to reflect that the Socialist leader, having received a fair amount of education, might well be expected to know the implications of his devastating creed and, granting that charitably, might have perchance come to entertain a somewhat sneaking regard for the man who held convictions by which, materially at any rate, he stood nothing to gain and everything to lose. The point that the hysterical representative of the ancient system obviously wished to make out was that this assailant of their title to property was a

hypocrite, a charge which would fall to the ground even against Pandit Motilal Nehru were that great leader suddenly to turn Socialist, though it might after that have a certain element of truth if he were to attempt the erection of a third Anand Bhawan.

But the ground awaharlal is treading to-day is not new. In more advanced countries it has been trodden before, and examples, even more piquant, of revolutionary sons and conservative fathers are not very rare. The career of Oswald Mosley, now in the Labour Ministry, affords an indisputable answer even to genuine sceptics regarding the futility, if not the folly, of revolutionary sons relinquishing all claims to their titles to property before the commencement of the era they are out to inaugurate.

Oswald Mosley joined the Labour Party in 1924 and his father, who was a strong Unionist, repudiated him. Oswald Mosley became a member of Parliament in 1926 and his opponents pointed out that he

denounced unearned income, but lived on a fortune he did not amass. The quarrel between father and son came to a head. When it was rumoured that his son and daughter wer to repudiate their titles, Sir Oswald wrote to the press sug esting that they would render more valuable aid to the country if, instead of achieving cheap publicity over the relinquishment of titles, they would relinquish some of their wealth and so help to make easier the plight of some of their unfortunate followers. His son replied that when he joined the Labour Party he stated his intention to renounce his title when his father died. He found that he could not do so legally but added that it would be quite easy not to be addressed by it.

"Giving all my money to charities", he said, "will not help the poor. The only way to do that is to use ourselves and every resource given us in the struggle to abolish a system which keeps the poor dependent on charities. It will admirably suit the purposes of capitalism if we make ourselves

as powerless as those we seek to aid by giving up all our resources and living in the worst slums we can find. If this example were followed by the entire Labour Party, disease would speedily rid the ruling class of the only danger they have to fear. They would then be free to wreak their will on the poor. I am pilloried in the Press for proposing a change that will make me worse off and other people better off. It is idle to argue that men employing their resources to bring about this change are not behaving in the same way as men employing their resources to prevent it."

We shall now take leave of the implications of his political theory and dwell briefly on the basis of his attitude in regard to the resolution on Dominion status which, he declared, was their desire not to hamper the Conference which offered a solution, fair to all, of the communal problem. The statement he read out was supported by most of the Moslems present so far as it related to independence and it is a significant fact that even his popularity

with Moslems did not prevail in inducing among them a calmer consideration of the proposals he so forcibly recommended.

The attitude of Moslems towards Jawaharlal is a part of their outlook towards Hindus. The average politically minded Moslem loves the Nationlist Hindu as much as he hates the Nationalist Moslems Nationalism, he thinks, is good for the Hindus and the country generally, communalism for the Moslems. That is why he loves the Swarajist Hindu, hates the Swarajist Moslem. The realisation of this subtle dichotomy doubtless played no little part in the all-party craze which has overtaken the Hindu leaders of the Congress. The average Moslem's love for the Nationalist Hindu is in direct proportion to the latter's indifference to Hinduism. It reaches its climax when the Hindu is an agnostic or an atheist.

It seems permissible to conclude that, as almost invariably happens in the careers of religions, the means has obscured the end, and that inspite of the absence of

priestcraft in Islam, the average Moslem's hatred of the Kafir is greater than his love for God. And his love for the Prophet greater than his love for Allah.

In the agnostic or atheist Hindu, such as Jawaharlal, the Moslems seem to find "another Hindu lost". They forget the wide embrace of Hinduism. It is the supreme beauty of Hinduism that it encourages an open mind. All ways lead to one goa : the paths are various, the destination is the same. In professing atheism Jawaharal does not necessarily repudiate Hinduism, but simply indicates his adherence to Dev Samaj. At any rate, were he to do so, Hinduism and Hindus would repudiate his repudiation.

It is not to be concluded from the Moslem attitude that rightful condemnation of Hindu communalism should not carry weight with the Hindus. The short-sighted policy of self-seeking that the Moslems are generally prone to adopt can only do them harm in the long run. They are even to-day suffering from its effects.

The greater the burden the Hindus bear in the fight for freedom the greater will be their reward. No other community suffered as much as the Sikhs during and after non-cooperation movement and no other community *pari passu* came stronger out of the struggle. The Moslems know it: they never provoke a Sikh, not even in the Punjab where they are about four times the Sikh population. Determined fighting builds character and character is the condition precedent of success, whatever the walk of life. It was only a section of Congressmen that turned their favourable attention to the Hindu Sabha after a series of riots and they ceased.

The Moslems seem to think that when the reward comes they would be ensured their portion as the price of their present support, forgetting that when it comes it would not be for the British to apportion it, and, even if it were, they would not be interested in the thankless task. The vast preponderence of Hindus in Volunteer Dals, Youth Leagues, Seva Samities, Boy

Scouts and University Training Corps can but result in putting them on a higher level than the community which refuses to partake in those institutions. Ignorance, fanaticism and indiscipline go hand in hand.

Soviet Russia.

Such is the mystery in which, thanks to propaganda, Soviet Russia is enveloped today that for the average Indian a visit to Russia, however brief, entitles the visitor to attention and respect.

The average Indian, consciously engaged in a prolonged struggle against British Imperialism, has come to regard Russia as an ally against a common foe, without knowing what Russia is. The propagandist abuse leaves him cold, just as the abuse of the Germans left him cold during the Great War. In this alliance of sympathy without understanding, Soviet Russia has a wonderful opportunity to sow her seeds in a soil on which in fair weather the taking root would be regarded as a sheer impossibility. Despite the deep hold of religion on the Indian masses and the middle classes, the growing hostility between the

rulers and the ruled has created a mentality in which anything hostile to the British is welcomed.

This therefore provides another source of interest in the subject of our story, which will be incomplete without a detailed reference to Russia.

Russia was the first and greatest sufferer from the Great War. The Russian autocracy was dishonest and incompetent. The Czar, like some of his ancestors had given way to a crazy pietism and the court, says Mr. H. G. Wells in his "Outline of History" was dominated by a religious impostor, Rasputin, whose cult was one of unspeakable foulness, a reeking scandal in the face of the world. Beneath the rule of this dirty mysticism, indolence and scoundrelism mismanged the war. The Russian common soldiers were sent into battle without guns to support them, without even rifle or ammunition. For a time they seemed to be suffering mutely as the beasts suffer, but there is a limit to the endurance even of the most ignorant.

On December 29th, 1916, the monk Rasputin was murdered at a dinner-party in Petrograd, and a belated attempt was made to put the Czardom in order. By March things were moving rapidly. Food riots in Petrograd developed into a revolutionary insurrection. There was an attempted suppression of the Duma the representative body, attempted arrests of liberal leaders, the formation of a provisional government under Prince Lvoff and an abdication by the Czar. But the destruction of confidence had gone too far for moderate adjustments. The Russian people were sick to death of the old order of things, of Czars and of wars. The Allies blundered steadily with the new situation. There was little goodwill among the diplomats and a manifest disposition to embarrass as much as possible the new Government under Kerensky who found himself assailed by the "social revolution" at home and cold-shouldered by the allies abroad.

The Russian masses were resolute to end the war. There had come into

existence in Petrograd a body representing the workers and common soldiers, called the Soviet, and this body clamoured for an international conference of Socialists at Stockholm and says Mr. H. G Wells, there can be little doubt, in the light of subsequent events, that such a conference would have precipitated a reasonable peace on democratic lines and a German revolution. Kerensky implored his western allies to allow this conference to take place but, fearful of a worldwide outbreak of socialism and republicanism, they refused, inspite of the favourable response of a small majority of the British Labour Party. After a last desperate offensive in July and another great slaughtering of Russians, mutinies broke out in the Russian armies and on November 7, 1917, Kerensky's Government was overthrown and power seized by the Soviet government dominated by the Bolshevik socialists under Lenin and pledged to make peace regardless of the western powers. Russia passed definitely out of the war and the reign of the Soviet began.

Outlining his famous Fourteen Points President Wilson referred to the peace parleys between Soviet Russia and Germany and said :—

The Russian representatives have insisted very justly, very wisely and in the true spirit of modern democracy that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen, should be held with open, not closed doors. And all the world has been audience as they desired.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for the definitions of principle and of purpose, which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the more moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people.

They call to us to say what we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and spirit differes from theirs ; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter sincerity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

And the sixth of his fourteen Points was to be the acid test for the powers :—

The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation

of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unembarrassed and unhampered opportunity for the independent determination of her own political and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and, more than a welcome, assistance of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded to Russia in the months to come by her sister nations will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their appreciation of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

Subsequent history shows how the sister nations treated Russia, how they sought to hamper and destrcy new Russia. Ten years later the world is as far away as ever from open diplomacy.

"Russia has launched on one of the mightiest experiments in history, says Jawaharlal Nehru in his illuminating book Soviet Russia. All the world is watching her, some with fear and hatred, and others with passionate hope and the longing to follow in her path. Russia interests us because it may help us to find some solution for the great problems which face the world to-day. It interests

us because conditions there have not been, and are not even now, very dissimilar to conditions in India. Both are vast agricultural countries with only the beginnings of industrialisation, and both have to face poverty and illiteracy. If Russia finds a satisfactory solution for these, our work in India is made easier.

"Russia cannot be ignored by us because she is our neighbour, a powerful neighbour which may be friendly to us and cooperate with us, or may be a thorn in our side. In either event we have to know her and understand her and shape our policy accordingly."

Information regarding Russia the world over has been largely derived from subsidised news agencies inimical to Russia and the most fantastic stories, for instance, the alleged nationalisation of women, have been circulated. The most prolific suppliers of news regarding Russia have been the Riga correspondents of British and other newspapers. A writer in the New York "Nation" sometime ago

described how Riga correspondents are made. He wrote as follows :—

"The first time I served as a Riga correspondent was in London. An editor made a correspondent of me by giving me an editorial leader clipped from one of the morning papers. He instructed me to re-cast part of it in the form of a dispatch and date it from Riga. The editorial was one reviewing in some detail the pernicious activities of the Third International. I must have re-written it rather well, for later I was entrusted with other tasks of the same delicate nature. I became the paper's regular Riga correspondent—"from our own correspondent", as they like to say in Fleet Street.

"A year later I was in Paris and attached to a newspaper there. And in Paris I found myself again a Riga correspondent. The work was two-fold now. There were French journals and English journals to re-write. All of them, including the one in London which formerly employed me, seemed to boast Riga correspondents. In all their dispatches there were revelations—Bolshevist atrocities, Cheka executions, Soviet economic difficulties, dissatisfaction of the people with the Government. As in London, this material was turned over to me ; and out of the mass another composite Riga correspondent was born.

"Whenever I think of Riga now I do not visualize a city, but a newspaper office—old desks, paste-pots shears, typewriters, waste paper. Riga

is a newspaper office city. It may have a geographic location. For all I know it may be populated with individuals absorbed in their own affairs; eating well, sleeping well, dreaming of owning automobiles. You cannot prove it by me. Once, in a moment of inexcusable curiosity, I went to the trouble of hunting up Riga in the Encyclopædia Britannica. That fount of current information describes it as a thriving port on the Baltic Sea, from which agricultural products, chiefly oats, are exported to England. Obviously, it was an old edition of the Encyclopædia. By this time the rumours far outnumber the oats.

If cities ever receive decorations for signal service, the Western world should confer prime honours upon Riga. By its mere existence as a four-letter word used for a dispatch date-line it has served as a barrier against the plots of the Soviets, thus keeping sacred and inviolate the idealism of Western Europe. Riga defends the world against the insidious propaganda of the Soviets. Red lies break against its intrepid front."

With this journalistic revelation to kindle the reader's interest in Soviet Russia we must now leave him with the advice to turn to the plain unvarnished tale related by Jawaharlal Nehru in his book of that name which is now published by the publisher of this book in a cheaper garb.

Sosialism.

What is socialism? Our story will be incomplete without a definition of socialism and its explanation with a view to its application to Indian conditions.

Socialism has been defined as a policy or theory which aims at securing, by the action of the central democratic authority, a better distribution and, in subordination thereto, a better production of wealth than at present prevails.

Socialism is the logical outcome of democracy itself. If universal adult sufferage is the ultimate aim of democracy, it follows as the night follows day that when the workers and peasants, who constitute the vast majority of the population everywhere, are able to exercise their vote in an intelligent manner, that is, in a manner that would tend to bring about an improvement in their economic status, their

representatives would set up a socialist state.

The word socialism was coined in the days of Owen but there were socialists before Owen. Modern socialism, however, does not identify itself with utopian fancies. As a policy it may be said to begin with the beginning of politics. As a theory it may be said to begin when the state is perceived to have a distinct office in the ordering of society and that office is so magnified that the main charge of the economic resources of the people is assigned to the state.

Socialism is opposed to the policy of laissez-faire, which aims at the least possible interference with industrial competition between private persons or groups and is suspicious of the policy of mere regulation which aims at a close surveillance and control of the proceedings of industrial competitors, but would avoid direct initiative in productiou and direct attempts to level the inequalities of wealth. The leading idea of the Socialist

is to convert into general benefit what is now the gain of a few. He shares this idea with the anarchist, the positivist and the cooperator and other reformers but, unlike them, to secure his end he would employ the compulsory powers of the sovereign state or the powers of the municipality delegated by the state.

Socialism by intention and definition would secure benefits not for a minority or even a majority but for all citizens. Communism has the same end in view. But the communist need not be a socialist, he may be an anarchist, an opponent of all government. On the other hand, a Socialist need not be a communist. The Socialists of to-day rarely, if ever, demand that all wealth be held in common. They only demand that the land and the large workshops and the materials and means of production on a large scale, shall be owned by the state or its delegate the municipality, and within these limits there may be much free private ownership and personal freedom.

Most men become socialists less from logic than from sympathy with suffering

and, having regard to the fact that nowhere else is the appeal of suffering so great as in India, a rapid advance of socialism here may be safely predicted. The course of events in England, with little conscious theory or principle on the part of the people, has been socialistic.

But modern socialism, without disowning sentiment, knows the need of facts and sound reasoning better than its predecessors, whom it agrees in calling utopian. The influence of socialism in Western countries has been increasing despite the fact that suffering there has been decreasing. This is largely due to the efforts made by the leading socialists in England, France and Germany to reason faithfully and collect facts honestly.

There is, of course, a large body of socialists without any organisation. There are multitudes who think socialistically without defining their own position with any exactness approaching that of the scientific socialists. It is these amateurs who fall readily into utopias and confound

the boundaries between socialism and communism. In India to-day the necessity of making clear the line of demarcation between the two would appear to be urgent as people engaged in an endless struggle against Britain are only too inclined to fall in with their only active sympathiser abroad, Soviet Russia. It is doubtful, however, if this distinction will either be appreciated or assimilated by the people so long as the political phase does not change. And the premium on communism will continue as another price for foreign rule.

Organised originally to sustain wages and restrict intolerable hours, the Trade Union movement was at first something altogether distinct from socialism. The Trade unionist tried to make the best for himself of the existing conditions of employment: the socialist proposed to change the system. It was the imagination and generalising power of Karl Marx which brought these two movements together. He foresaw labour as becoming class-conscious and

collectively antagonistic to the property-concentrating classes. The capitalist adventurers, he argued, would gather power over capital intofewer and fewer hands until at last they would concentrate all the means of production, transit and the like into a form seizable by the workers, whose class-consciousness and solidarity would be developed pari passu by the process of organising and concentrating industry. They would seize this capital and work it for themselves. This wonld be the social revolution. Individual property and freedom would then be restored, based upon the common ownership of the earth and the management by the community as a whole of the great productive services.

But though Karl Marx perceived that labour had a common interest against the capitalist everywhere he failed to perceive under the strain of the Great Power wars of the time that labour everywhere has a common interest in peace. Nevertheless, socialism continued its onward march, claiming new adherents.

Then came the Great War and the nascent feeling of international brotherhood was swept away by the rising tide of national fury. Common men everywhere sacrificed life and health for what they belived to be the common good of the state. In return, it was promised, there would be less social injustice after the war, a more universal devotion to the common welfare. The world found Mr. Lloyd George insisting upon making the after-Britain "a land fit for heroes." He foreshadowed the continuation of the war communism into the peace period. But the rich and adventurous men, particularly the new war profiteers, were making their plans to prevent such developments and to snatch back manufactures, shipping, the public services and the trade in staples from the hands of the commonwealth into the grip of private profit and were buying off newspapers to that end. In the year 1919 there was a hasty selling off by the business Government in control of every remunerative public enterprise to private speculators. It

began to be perceived that there was only to be a restoration of the old order in the harsher form necessitated by the poverty of the times. The common man felt he had been cheated. He had made the sacrifices and others had grown rich as the result of the war. The war over, the social question reappeared, gaunt and bare, with Bolshevik Russia staring the West in the face.

Speaking in 1919 Mr. Lloyd George, the apostle of private enterprise, who was to make the after-war Britain "a land fit for heroes" said: "There is a new challenge to civilisation. It is fundamental. It affects the whole fabric of society, its commerce, its trade, its industry, its finance, its social order. There are those who maintain that the prosperity and the strength of the country have been built up by the stimulating and invigorating appeal to individual impulse, to individual action. The state must educate; the state must assist and control where necessary; the state must shield the weak against the

arrogance of the strong, but the life springs from individual impulse and energy. That is one view. What is the other? That private enterprize is a failure, tried found wanting, a complete failure and a cruel failure. It must be rooted out and the community must take charge as a community, to produce, to distribute, as well as to control. These are great challenges for us to decide. We say that the ills of private enterprise can be averted. They say "No, they cannot. No ameliorative, no restrictive, no remedial measure will avail. These evils are inherent in the system. They are the fruit of the tree and you must cut it down. That is the challenge you hear ringing through the civilised world to-day."

It is of interest to note here that on all accounts there is precious little enterprize in heriditary land-owning and other forms of unearned income though quite a hue and cry was raised over Jawaharlal's advocacy of land nationalisation. To prove the fact, though without saying so, that the primary business of the entrepeneur is to

make as much profit as he can, Mr. H. G. Wells (not a Socialist) says in his "Outline of History."

"These are facts that the historian of mankind is obliged to note with as little comment as possible. Private enterprize in Europe in 1919 and 1920 displayed neither will nor capacity for meeting the crying needs of the time. So soon as it was released from control, it ran naturally into speculation, cornering and luxury production. It followed the line of maximum profit. It displayed no sense of its own dangers, and it resisted any attempt to restrain and moderate its profits and make itself serviceable, even in its own interests.

And this went on in the face of the most striking manifestations of the extreme recalcitrance on the part of the European masses to the prolonged continuance of the privations and inconveniences they suffered."

Even granting that the ills of private enterprize can be averted, the question is who is to avert them ? Not surely those who, like Mr. Lloyd George, worship the golden calf. You cannot expect the hirelings of a system to improve that system.

And without the backing of money, which private enterprize can alone supply, these hirelings will be nowhere in the modern costly electoral machinery. Self-interest alone will, in the end, rule the world and it is not in the interest of the vast majority that they should starve while a few should have millions to lead a life of wickedness.

The President Elect

Let us sum up. Jawaharlal is the first Socialist president of the Congress. Though not the first agnostic president, he is the first to have the courage to denounce religion and religious customs, and, what is more, to encourage its denunciation by an organised party called the Youth League.

As a socialist he is an internationalist. His plan for independence is, as we have shown, an onslaught on British imperialism, whether those of the Conservatives, the liberals, or some of the present-day Labourites. To that position no Congressman can take exception. Even our Liberals cannot feel happy in an alliance with British imperialism if that were possible, which it has not been. The imperialism of European nations has made a farce of the League of Nations and that is why we

find the truest internationalist to be also the most staunch opponent of the League.

Although this phase of his mental constitution has been very judiciously kept in the background, it may not be out of place here to point out that some of his best political friends are in the left wing of the British Labour party, and that British connection with them at the helm in their country would not be objected to by those of his way of thinking, if, indeed, it would not be welcomed as a link in the chain of World Commonwealth. The point to note is that a free India cannot possibly have any connection with an aggressive Britain and that is a point to which, whether they declare it or not, even the moderate Swarajists and Liberals cannot, but subscribe.

Much has in some quarters been made of his signature on the Delhi leader's manifesto. It has been suggested with a semblance of justification that "Jawaharlal Nehru is a captive baloon held down by the pacific idealism of Mahatma Gandhi

and the political realism of his father." There are times when in the country's interests ones views have to be subordinated, indeed, when not to do so is to betray the cause. The judgment of such time has of course to be made by the man himself. We have already made plain the differences between Jawaharlal and Gandhi on the one hand and between him and his father on the other. What truth there is in the suggestion contained in this criticism has also been made frequently obvious in the foregoing pages. But "pacific idealism" and "political realism" are phrases which, far from giving offence, are worthy of being regarded as the highest compliments by any politician.

There is another-view point from which to look at this picture. Lord Morley said in his discourse on popular culture :—

Let us not be too ready to discuss an inconsistency in our method, but rather let us teach ourselves to distinguish between inconsistency and having two sides to an opinion. "Before I admit that two and two are four" some one said, "I must first know to what use you are going to put the proposition." That is to say, even

the plainest proposition needs to be stated with a view to the drift of the discussion in hand, or a view to some special part of the discussion. When the turn of some other part of the discussion comes, it will be convenient and often necessary to bring out into full light another side of your opinion, not contradictory but complimentary, and the great distinction of a candid disputant or of a reader of good faith is his willingness to take pains of reconciliation among different aspects and different expressions of what is substantially the same judgment.

We have already emphasised the uti lity, from the Indian political standpoint, of this cry for independence. It throws the burden of your cause, as it were, on your opponent. It throws the burden of the advocacy of Dominion status, which is for all practical purposes the same as independence on your opponents. It throws the burden of the advocacy of the British connection on the shoulders of those who should bear it, *i.e.*, the British shoulders, and with it throws upon them the responsibility of a particular kind of behaviour also.

It would, however, be a mistake to regard Jawaharlal's election to the presidentship of the Congress as in any way signifying the genuine and intelligent

support to his doctrines even of the majority of Congressmen to-day. His emphasis on independence and his declared adherence to socialism with vigorous attacks on capitalism which, it is generally realised, is intimately associated with imperialism, coupled with an attractive personality, with the halo around it of the aristocrat turned revolutionary, his unquestioned sincerity and burning patriotism, have won for him the Congress crown at an age at which most others start their political career and at which the youngest president of the Congress won it in the days when the Congress counted as many followers as there are leaders to-day. His election may rather be regarded as a gesture to Great Britain, as the herald of a new era, of a proclamation by the youth of the country of the way they are prepared to go and the message they are prepared now to listen too.

The youth of the country gave the signal and the Mahatma, with characteristic generosity, stood aside in favour of his old lieutenant. Having cultured the soil

for a decade in his old fashioned way, he now clears the field for the younger and more enthusiastic cultivator.

The nomenclature may be different and the emphasis contrary, there is little doubt that beneath the apparent clash of the new and the old there is between the idealism of Gandhi and Nehru junior a close and real affinity. The Mahatma may turn to the Shastras with the proviso that if they justify the inequities of every day life he would disregard them. Is it not, but a step to omit reference to those good old books altogether ? Besides, even a Mahatma may not play fast and loose with the Shastras. The Sanatanist might, the agnostics will not permit it ; this way or that. The degeneration of the benevolent overlord, whether in the sphere of the caste, sex, industry or government, has been too familiar to allow the transmission of Mr. Gandhi's faith in human nature with the provision of satyagrah and self-sacrifice to right the wrongdoer. In the last analysis the difference between Jawaharlal Nehru and

Gandhi would be found in the former's desire to establish a society in which suffering would be reduced to its minimum and the call of it proportionately weakened, there being no opportunity for the evil-intentioned.

The man who cries for equal opportunity should not forget that the son of Motilal and Gandhi's favourite got the Congress crown perhaps a year or two earlier than his deserts.

With the recognition of the simple fact that no man should be greater than the movement, perhaps the greatest work of Gandhi has been the creation of leader in this country. No leader ever paid more glorious tributes to others. No one ever discovered so readily the best in others as he did. Commenting on Jawaharlal's election as president of the Congress after 15 years of service to the country, ten of them devoted and intense, Mr. Gandhi wrote in "Young India":—

It was a great and a wise step the All-India Congress Committee took at Lucknow on the

29th ultimo in electing Pandit Jawaharlal Nahru as the Congress Helmsman for the coming year. No man however great, be he even Mahatma, is indispensable for a nation conscious of itself and bent upon freedom. Even as the whole is always greater than its part, the Congress which claims to represent the nation is always greater than its greatest part. To be a living organisation, it must survive its most distinguished members. The All-India Congress Committee has by its decision demonstrated that it believes in the inherent vitality of the Congress.

Some fear in this transference of power from the old to the young, the doom of the Congress. I do not. The doom was to be feared from the sceptre being held by the paralytic hands as mine are at present. I may take the reader into the secret that before recommending Pandit Jawaharlal Nahru's name for the burden I had ascertained from him whether he felt himself strong enough to bear the weight. "If it is thrust upon me, I hope I shall not wince," was the characteristic reply. *In bravery he is not to be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of the country? 'He is rash and impetuous' say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he has also the prudence ofa statesman. A lover of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But heis humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the*

breaking point. He is pure as the crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight sans peur, sans reproche. The nation is safe in his hands.

But the youth are on their trial. This has been a year for the youths' awakening. Theirs undoubtedly was the largest contribution to the brilliant success of the Simon Commission boycott. They may take the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as a tribute to their service. But the youth may not rest on their laurels. They have to march many more stages before the nation comes to its own. Steam becomes a mighty power only when it allows itself to be imprisoned in a strong little reservoir and produces tremendous motion and carries huge weights by permitting itself a tiny and measured outlet. Even so have the youth of the country of their own free-will to allow their inexhaustible energy to be imprisoned, controlled and set free in strictly measured and required quantities. This appointment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Captain is proof of the trust the nation reposes in its youth. Jawaharlal alone can do little. The youth of the country must be his arms and his eyes. Let them prove worthy of the trust.

END.

Printed by Babu Bishambher Nath Bhargava, at the Standard Press, Allahabad.